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Unusual rock formation off Guaymas, Mexico. Western Ways Photo.

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Here and There

A series of what might be described as "Nobel Prizes of the Americas" has been established by the Government of Ecuador. Three "Ecuador Prizes," of ten thousand dollars each, named for Simón Bolívar, Pedro Vicente Maldonado, and Juan Montalvo, will be awarded in Quito at the time of each Inter-American Conference, beginning with the eleventh, to be held in the Ecuadorian capital. The first will honor the contributions of a leader in public affairs or sociology to the realization of the Bolivarian ideals of brotherhood for the Americas. The second will be in recognition of scientific advances that will serve human welfare, health, or economic progress. The third will be for literary achievement, whether in essays, novels, poetry, history, biography, or philosophy, emphasizing peace and freedom.

The twelve concerts of the Second Inter-American Music Festival, held in Washington in late April, included performances by the U.S. National Symphony; the National Symphony of Mexico; the Canadian Broadcasting Company Symphony of Toronto; the Eastman Philharmonia Orchestra of Rochester, N. Y.; a chamber orchestra specially assembled for the Festival; the Claremont String Quartet; the Philadelphia Woodwind Quintet; the Howard University Choir of Washington, D. C.; and the Madrigal Chorus of Mexico, with appearances by ten soloists. Programs featured first world or U. S. hearings of works by twenty-seven composers from eleven Western Hemisphere nations. Blas Galindo of Mexico wrote a special fanfare to be played on the street before each concert to summon the audience. We shall deal more thoroughly with the Festival later.

■ Paintings by Rodolfo Mishaan, a young Guatemalan abstract expressionist now living in New York, will be exhibited in the gallery of the Pan American Union from May 11 to June 4.

- Dr. Earl Evans, of the University of Chicago, will give a series of lectures on biochemistry, in Argentina, Chile, Brazil, Peru, and Venezuela, as part of the OAS Exchange of Scientists Program. The program is designed to give the universities of the Hemisphere a chance to call on the best teaching and research talent from countries other than their own, including those of Latin America and the United States.
- An agreement has been signed by the OAS and Yale University, under which Yale will give technical advice to the OAS programs in housing and planning. The University will assist in the development of the new Inter-American Program for Urban and Regional Planning, being organized at the National Engineering University in Lima, Peru, and advise the existing Inter-American Housing and Planning Center in Bogotá, Colombia.



THE PEOPLE, SÍ

Colombian Communities Build a New Life

E. GORDON ALDERFER

A NEW MEANS TOWARD PROGRESS and a better life is being pioneered by the people of Colombia. It is called community action. The gratifying accomplishments that have already been made in some communities, and the vast need for bringing the program to hundreds of others, were dramatically shown by a survey conducted last summer by two private organizations, CARE (Cooperative for American Relief Everywhere, Inc.) and the National Federation of Coffee Growers of Colombia. The results and

recommendations have been presented to President Alberto Lleras Camargo. They offer no easy, quick solution. The work has just begun; but with good planning and administration, adequate support, and a great deal of devoted work, this approach offers truly exciting prospects for solid and lasting achievements.

Only three years ago did Colombia begin to emerge from a tragic period of twelve years of savage civil violence. During this period some 300,000 people lost their lives; entire communities were destroyed and many of these, already separated by geographic barriers and an inadequate system of communications, were torn out of the national fabric; thousands of acres of cultivated land were ravished and reverted to a state of wilderness; many untold millions of dollars' worth of property were wan-

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tonly destroyed. A mere semblance of national life was precariously maintained by an irresponsible dictatorship. The national debt soared to unprecedented heights as a result of ill-conceived and ill-planned national capital investments and the decay of trade and production. Perhaps most serious of all was the decay of civic and local responsibility.

Finally in 1958 the country recoiled from the brink of further disaster and national disintegration. The two major political groupings, after the dictatorship was replaced by a military Junta, re-established a regularly constituted national governing authority under which there was to be a system of parity in the distribution of federal, departmental, and local offices so that each party would share equally in the task ahead, under the four-year presidency of first one party and then the other.

The new government under the inspired leadership of President Alberto Lleras Camargo has had an uphill struggle to reconstitute national authority, pacify dissident elements, control the national debt and establish a better balance of payments, and begin to create facilities for a more meaningful community life with a view toward social and economic justice. Violence in certain sections of the country has not yet ended, but it has been contained in large measure. Enormous strides have been made toward the attainment of a more favorable balance of payments and the re-establishment of national credit. But at the level of life of the farmer in the rural areas and the propertyless poor who have flocked in increasing numbers to Colombia's cities, the high objectives of the new era have not yet been reached.

The fact remains, however, that the new Colombia is

At left: Pupils of rural school near formerly strife-torn Libano are proud of their vegetable garden. Below: Sewing machines donated by CARE are helping train Colombian village women



fervently seeking ways to develop its resources and enrich the lives of its people where the great bulk of its population lives and where development really counts most—in the local community. This is the reason why the term "Acción Comunal" is a term of wide currency and great hope.

Yet this concept of community action has been difficult to put into practice. As in many newly developing countries, the structure of civic government is built upon those nineteenth-century French constitutional principles that place the effective force for development at the political and economic apex, rather than at the communal roots of civil life, so that action and responsibility are extremely centralized. In other words, in Colombia there is very little legally constituted structure at the local level to implement and support a process of development. The ultimate local entity has no taxing powers whatsoever; for obtaining funds it must depend upon the municipio (county), which in turn depends upon the department, and the department's financial and political resources emanate from the power of the federal government. Community self-determination, in terms of legally constituted local government, in effect does not exist except by means of private voluntary cooperation.

This might not be such a serious shortcoming if an earlier tradition of voluntary community cooperation had been nurtured and encouraged. But this habit has been deformed in Colombia because of a history of excessively centralized control of civic life and the disruptions of civil violence. These conditions have also tended to aggravate another set of factors inhibiting local development—the uncertainty and insecurity of land tenure, the difficulty and expense of obtaining secure land ownership, and the effect of maldistribution and ineffective use of land. Without effective local legal entities to define boundaries and stabilize land tenure, a centralized government must inevitably find the necessary job of land administration and development a long and troublous one.

Colombia is by no means alone in wrestling with factors that seriously inhibit the improvement of local life. The overriding significant fact is, however, that its progressive leaders have foreseen that economic health, social justice, and the physical well-being of its people must arrive out of a process that begins at the local level of life.

The role of the government must be paramount in this work. Upon that leadership will depend the growth of an increasing confidence and public sense of partnership in government. A number of ministries and agencies of the Colombian Government now have undertaken such programs. Among them was the President's Special Commission on Rehabilitation, created on September 3, 1958. The Coordinator of the Commission, Dr. José Gómez Pinzón, felt that an integrated approach to community reconstruction and development was badly needed. Hence the origin of the "Polyvalent Teams," a new use of an old concept that perhaps could have universal application in Latin countries. In Colombia, the idea of an inter-professional team to work with the community and solve community problems in a technical manner had been used before.



Getting ready for dynamite. Libano farmers build themselves a twenty-mile road through community effort

Baraya was one of the fourteen violence zones now chosen for polyvalent work in community reconstruction and development. This is a municipio of some eight thousand inhabitants situated in the northeast corner of the Department of Huila. The area saw much devastation and abandonment during the years of the violence. Baraya is a farm zone and its moderate altitude allows for a variety of crops, including cotton, corn, beans, sesame, and coffee. A good deal of the land is devoted to grazing. Over 60 per cent of the rural people do not own the land they farm, and the owners of the larger farms do not live on the land.

The polyvalent team that arrived in Baraya in February 1959 was made up of the following personnel: a medical doctor (as team leader), a first agronomist (to work with adult farmers), a second agronomist (trained to work with rural youth, form 4-H Clubs, and so on), a nurse, and a home demonstration worker (to work with rural housewives). The only previous knowledge the team had of Baraya was a field study that Rehabilitation Commission investigators had made of the area a few months before. Slowly the team began to get acquainted, to make friends, to know the town and its outlying open rural neighborhoods.

The townspeople and the rural people each reacted differently to the newcomers. In the town, people generally accepted them. Town officials, swallowing jealousy, did their best to cooperate with the new representatives of the Government. Immediately, of course, each team member was asked his political affiliation. When, in turn, each evaded the subject, it was finally dropped. All members of the team had agreed beforehand not to mention politics or political affiliations—this was to be a real working example of the National Front Coalition. However, this "keep silent" attitude did not impress local politicians, who were always on the lookout for a new political lever.

Community development was just too new an idea to come off without some sparks flying.

In the rural area, the team's reception was different. The farmers of Baraya had suffered greatly during the years of violence. To the south and west lay the open valley of the Magdalena River, the natural approach to the town. To the north were the mountains, and Tolima. Many guerrilla bands fighting government forces hid out in those mountains. Government forces in pursuit of the guerrillas came in from the Magdalena plains. The people who lived in the foothills of Baraya were caught in the middle. When the polyvalent team went into the hills of Baraya in February 1959, there were many arms in the hills, and the people were organized—to fight.

An attitude had evolved during the violence, especially in the zones most affected (where the polyvalent teams were sent): the government was the enemy of the people, and no government agent can be trusted. The members of the team met the brunt of this attitude. They were, after all, government employees. The problem was to convince the people that they were a new kind of government agent—bringing aid, not disaster.

A rumor spread rapidly through the outlying sections that government tax agents had arrived to assess the lands and levy taxes on the farmers. Why else would the team members be so curious about the conditions in which they lived? For long months, the team labored under this cloud of suspicion. But slowly suspicion disappeared. Treating patients in a rural farmhouse, the doctor would be asked questions about crops and farm loans. The doctor would point to the agronomist, who was the expert in agriculture. "Ask him." At the same time the doctor was receiving patients, the home demonstration worker was showing a group of housewives how to make an egg cake: a mothers' club was in the making. Outside, the second agronomist was showing youths how to inoculate a chicken against Newcastle disease, and the nurse was teaching baby care.

Scenes such as these take place today in the Baraya rural neighborhoods every day of the work week. From dawn Monday morning until dusk on Friday, the five members of the polyvalent team are traveling on horse-back from one to another, visiting, treating, advising. In each of the many neighborhoods visited by the team every week there is a "pilot finca," a farm selected by the farmers themselves, where the community meets on the same day each week—some walk or ride many miles to get there to see the doctor, the agronomist, or the nurse about a problem or an idea, or to get treatment for an infection.

In discussing problems with the farmers, it was necessary first that they organize themselves for effective work. During 1959 each rural neighborhood formed a school committee, a health committee, an agriculture committee, a mothers' club. Each committee was created around a local need. In the Patia neighborhood, the collapsing school showed an obvious and urgent need. The entire community, in a sense, then began to operate as one committee: the men fixed the room and boarded the ceiling, the women sewed curtains and started a flower garden, the boys of the community got together and began to level

a plot of land for a basketball court. Each family carried one fencepost to the school, for a fence was needed to keep the cattle out of the garden and the yard. The school, when visited, was whitewashed, the garden was full of flowers, the basketball court was finished, and each Monday the Junta for Community Action met in the school-house to discuss community plans.

Every two months, many farmers travel to Baraya in order to attend the Congress for Community Action. Each of the numerous committees for community action is represented, and each presents before the other committees a progress report on community development in its section. This Congress has proved of tremendous value in stimulating community efforts. A spirit of pride and competition has resulted. Through the encouragement of Dr. José Salgado, physician and leader of the polyvalent team who had earned their confidence, the community has taken the responsibility for building its own hospital. The government has taken note of the expression of community enthusiasm, and more official support of the various community projects is forthcoming.

When the La Batalla rural neighborhood finished building its own school and drew up a petition for a school-teacher, it went too long without an answer, and the community pooled funds and hired its own teacher. Some time later, an official teacher was appointed, but mean-while many children had learned to read and write. The substitute teacher is now employed in another rural school by the departmental government. Time and time again, farmer delegations go to Neiva, the departmental capital, to try to get action on community problems: a school, a road. Students of Colombian social history will find this a radical change from the past, when the cacique or local politician-chieftain was the only spokesman the community was permitted.

Today's spokesmen in Baraya are more and more the recognized representatives of the communities they come from. Several members of the current municipal council are also presidents of their respective neighborhood juntas. When they rise to speak in council chambers, they speak with a new authority. When they describe a local problem they are saying it just the way any farmer from their section would say it, and the solution put forth for council consideration is the solution already decided on in caucus during a prior junta meeting. This new sense of political responsibility rising out of the new dignity and pride rightfully assumed by the farmer has been one of the remarkable results of community development in Baraya.

A number of agencies and organizations have cooperated in Baraya, lending services that the farmers need so badly in order to raise production and living standards. The National Federation of Coffee Growers, with its rural hygiene program, has sponsored several collective aqueducts. The community assumes responsibility for maintenance of these installations, which is not the case in other parts of Colombia. The Federation is also encouraging the formation of a cooperative in Baraya, so that credit can be made available to the smaller landholders and renters, and a consumers' center can be set up. Already many

individual farmers are raising rabbits and fine chickens that were purchased in large lots for the whole neighborhood to obtain better prices. The bargaining strength of an organized community put to use for constructive purposes is a recent lesson in Baraya.

Other organizations, such as the Rehabilitation Commission, the Ministry of Education (which has a central school in the Patia neighborhood), CARE and the Inter-American Cooperative Public Health Service, with material and technical help, have made contributions in Baraya. But it is the farmers of Baraya, with their smiling friends from the polyvalent team looking on, who can proudly say, "We have done it: We have constructed a half dozen rural schools, planted 160 home gardens, laid fifteen kilometers of road, planted acres of new pasture grass, corn, and cabbages. We have learned to cook better, sew better, care for the baby better. We are better citizens. We know our rights and express ourselves. We elect our own leader and support him. We have learned what a good neighbor is."

Community development always seems to be born with a need. In Libano the need was for security, peace in which to work and make a living. But in January 1959 the rural neighborhoods of Libano were still aflame. A number of landowners from the Mesetas section who had thought of going back to work their farms were quickly discouraged by the ambush killings that were occurring there. Even if a person were foolhardy enough to venture out to his *finca* in Las Mesetas, it was a hard haul on horseback, for Las Mesetas had no road.

The tragedy of Libano is the tragedy of Colombia during the years of the violence. One of the richest coffee-producing municipios in Colombia, Libano is located high in the central cordillera of the Andes in the north of Tolima Department. The district's town has a population of fifteen thousand, and the fifty rural neighborhoods and six villages, covering two hundred and sixty square miles, have a combined population of sixty thousand. Besides coffee, the land is rich in sugar cane, and in the higher



Learning to inoculate chickens against disease is part of young farmers' club work and community development in Huila

regions near Murillo many cattle grane. Farm holdings average twenty-five acres, but many farmers do not own their own land. Until the years of violence, Libano was a prosperous and growing municipio, marked for an important future. Then came disaster.

When the devastation was over, more than eight thousand dead were counted in Libano and its rural neighborhoods. Some 3,700 dwellings had been destroyed, and countless school buildings also. The hatreds and vengeance that remained were hard to put away. In Libano the adling did not cease with the declaration of amnesty. But the truth was that everyone was tired of the fighting and wanted peace and security above all—and some hope of prosperity. How to achieve it? A few people in Libano were stout enough to believe that the people could do something about it themselves.

A road was the need that brought Luis Morales, Carlos Beltran and a number of Libano citizens together one night in January 1959. All the men had land in Las Mesetas, but in recent years few of them had seen their land and none had cultivated it. In the group were Conservatives and Liberals alike, tired of hating each other and desirous of working again. That night all agreed on building a road to Las Mesetas, and named a special committee. It was a poculiarity of the time of violence that the worst fighting and killing always took place where there were no roads. Besides, the finose in Las Mesetas would never be profitable so long as the only transportation for crops remained the back of a mule,

Just about that time the polyvelent team arrived in Libano. The justs for a Las Mesetas road was one of the first citizens' groups it met with.

Things went well. The highway project was an excellent beginning, and the junta welcomed the aid of Dr. González, a young civil engineer, who was also attached to the team at that time. Soon, González was out every day with his transit and his constant companion, Don Jesús Américqui, as elderly man who owneil a small plot of land in the neighborhood.

While Don Jesus and his friend were laying out the twelve miles of line, convites or work rangs were called every Monday. These convites were made up of landowners and workers alike, of both political persuasions but with the same desire—to see a road built. The gangs numbered from two hundred to fifty, never less, each Monday. Some traveled six hours back and forth to reach the workings. These farmers came mostly from the region of Villahermosa, an area rich in various vegetable crops, all of which went to the Libano market. In Libano these farmers were lucky if they recovered transportation costs. Though the road will never reach their township, they know what a saving it will mean. For example, from the advance point of the road to Libano the transportation cost per load of plantains is twelve peops. For the same amount carried by truck it would be two peops.

The Las Mesetas-Convenio highway has been largely bewed and blasted out of mountain rock—three miles' worth. The loan of a buildozer for the work has been fortuitous, Every so often the county withdraws the vehicle to work in another area. The Department of Public Works

in Ibagué, Tolima's capital, has been generous with dynamite. The rest, however, has come from the people themselves. A few of the junta have modest means and give all they can. Some 20,000 peace has been collected for the road since work began a year ago. With Liberals and Conservatives working side by side, even playing ball sometimes after work, the aocial value of the project almost outstrips its material worth. In addition, it is a fact that aince road construction began no one has been attacked in that area. Where roads go, violence disappears.

Once the polyvalent team began work in Libano, it found no shortage of problems. Their reception was cool at first. But here again friendship was made by offering practical and effective assistance to the farmers: medical aid (the doctor of the team averaged one thousand consultations a month) and most of all technical assistance in agriculture and agricultural credit.

A field study of the Libano neighborhood revealed that the soil was ideal for eacao. The exploitation of coffee as practiced in Libano, as in many parts, was traditional in technique, and fertilizer was rarely used. Fortunately, the first agreement assigned to the team, Raul Cadena, had had a great deal of experience with cacao, and many years of extension work behind him. He saw the opportunities in Libano for improvement in cultivation methods and by introducing new crops—namely cacao and cabuya hemp. But how to interest the community in change?

Each neighborhood had its own ideas about what its problems were. The lack of a school was frequently at the top of the list, or perhaps it was a plant disease that threatened the crops. Whatever the chief problem agreed upon by the community, that was where the team made its start. Committees were organized and work began in each neighborhood. In Libano, as in Baraya, the multicommittee system was used.

But while the land was being leveled for the school, and neighborhood work groups made cement blocks with block presses donated by CARE; the members of the team continued to press for education, talking about the need for new crops while they taught baby care to a group of mothers. Slowly the idea was accepted. Then the first community cacao bed was planted. Eight or ten skeptical farmers watched as Raul Cadens transplanted the first tender wedlings. The site of the bed was the "pilot fines" in one of the fifteen rural neighborhoods where the team worked

In Libano, as in Baraya, the "pilot fincas" were chosen by the farmers themselves—as opposed to the practice in other places visited where an extension agent made the decision as to where the pilot experiments should take place without considering the will of the neighborhood. A community that has chosen the site for a project of its own accord will be more apt to support it and to apply it to their own fincas. That lesson is applicable to all phases of community development. The polyvalent team, much as it wanted to promote new crops, did not "impose" the planting of this new crop on the population. The success

of their method is shown by the fact that today in Libano there are 250,000 new cacao plants, and in two more years they will represent an estimated annual income of over a million dollars.

The polyvalent team followed the same pattern in introducing fique or cabuya hemp, which had always been grown in the area but never with much commercial success. Today there are over 150,000 new fique plants there, and a new home industry has begun with the spinning of hemp on home spinning wheels. Also through community organization two defibrating machines are loaned around to the various neighborhoods for the preparation of fiber for the loom. Production of hemp has increased, and the Colombian Packaging Company may soon open a branch office in Libano.

As organizers of the community, the team workers there have been very successful in bringing certain services from the outside to bear on the rural neighborhoods. For example, once he had cleared with the Agrarian Credit Bank just what the nature and possibilities of mileh cow loans were, the agronomist began a campaign to convince the farmer (1) to raise better pasture, (2) to build a cow stall close to his house, and (3) to take out a mileh cow loan at the Bank. When the survey visited Libano, cow stalls were being built all over. Everyone seemed pleased, from the farmer with his new cow to the manager of the Bank, who was glad to see credit used so well. The continuing nutrition campaign carried on by the team doctor and nurse, explaining the need for drinking milk, and the classes given by the home demonstration worker on food preparation, all make this integral education at the neighborhood level.

The polyvalent team members, becoming better known as community organizers, are more often called upon by outside agencies that want to carry out programs in Libano. Recently, the Federation of Coffee Growers, through its office in Ibagué, asked the team to lead a hand in working with a community that was to build a read with the Federation's help. A land problem was involved, but the team got the people together and aired the problem thoroughly, and now the community is cooperating well.

The excellent work that these polyvalent teams have accomplished has not gone unnoticed, and just this year the Federation of Coffee Growers agreed to assume responsibility for the teams and their work in Huila and Tolima. Last June, the Libano team passed from the sponsorship of the Commission on Rehabilitation to that of the Tolima Coffee Committee, but it continues work as usual.

The survey found many other instances of community action, sparked by the initiative of a variety of groups, and sometimes by individuals, but all arising from the general recognition of a community need. Twenty years ago Fomenque, two hours' drive from Bogotá, was a municipio of mountain farmers who traditionally fought a losing battle against poverty, illiteracy, and disease. But Father (now Monsignor) Gutiérrez, the local priest, established what might be called the grandfather of all Churchinspired community development programs in Colombia.

Fundamentally, this meant the founding of a community corporation, a stock company with broad popular membership somewhat akin to a cooperative. A number of programs in education, housing, and other areas were undertaken. Today the town of Fomenque stands out like a beacon in the shadowy, poverty-stricken, disease-ridden Andean back country. It is noted for its cleanliness, its health standards, and the industry of its people. Practically every child attends school regularly, and the literacy rate here is now 96 per cent.

El Banco is a port on the Magdalena River, about a hundred miles upstream from Barra aquilla. This town of twenty-six thousand exists by trading and fishing, both marginal enterprises. It is almost inaccessible except by river boat and sirplane, and honce has been in the back wash of the twentieth century. Her own people term El Banco a place forgotten by state and federal governments, except perhaps at election time. There has fortunately never been political violence here. But a general apathy hovers over the place.

Fortunately, there was an exception to this spirit—and that came from the least expected section of El Banco society. One night a group of workingmen and small merchants were sitting in one of El Banco's bers discussing women, deaths, high prices, and other vital matters when the conversation turned to the town's abyamal lack of schools and facilities for their children. These people could not afford to send children to the private schools, and juvenile vagrancy in town was becoming a scrious problem. About one thousand schoolage children in El Banco were not able to get schooling. Consequently, there was an excess of unskilled labor, much unemployment, and too few workers with skills needed by the community.

These men then and there formed an organization called the Society for the Protection of Children. They decided that they would build their own schools with their own hands, since the government never seemed to have sufficient money to cover their needs. But they didn't have any money either—and indeed they were lucky enough to feed and shelter their families, and that not always.

They set up dues of two pesos a month (about thirty U. S. cents) and began to budger friends and groups for support. They held parties, raffles, bingo games. Their first effort at fund-raising resulted in an earning of only 17 centavos, or less than three U. S. cents. But this did not stop them.

That was back in 1957. Since then they have built two primary schools, and they operate another in a rented house. A combined vocational school and community and health center is under construction, partly with the help of the money that the government at last gave them to finish one school (a hitherto unheard-of sum amounting to 25,000 pesos or about U. S. \$3,600). The little society—consisting of twenty-seven men and, something that is remarkable for this part of the country, five women—maintains the schools, pays all expenses including teachers' salaries.

The schools now have a total enrollment of 284 students including 39 men who are attending night sessions. Interestingly enough, four doctors of El Banco caught the



With Cinva-Ram press, worker makes earth-cement blocks for rural school in Huila Department

spirit of this self-help enterprise and are contributing their services free to provide medical protection to all school children as well as to adults whom the society certifies to be in need of such help. The doctors have also volunteered to teach hygiene, practical nursing, and midwifery (there is not a trained midwife in the area) in the planned night school at the new vocational center.

The new school will provide vocational training, facilities for a community center, and a health center that will include X-ray and laboratory facilities. The society has already arranged for the necessary volunteer craft instructors and plans to hire a full-time director. Women workers will teach sewing and home arts. When it became apparent that funds were not available to complete the structure and equipment, the Society appealed to the CARE Colombian mission. CARE is now supplying some \$3,600 worth of equipment, including four sewing machines; a carpentry workshop; agricultural tools; two Cinva-Ram block-making machines; various kits of vocational tools; first aid, recreation, and classroom supplies; and children's books. This program illustrates as few projects can the fact that the miracle of community improvement can actually happen if neighbors face their basic problems squarely, even if they have nothing to start with.

These stories illustrate patterns of action that produced more than physical improvements. Basically, the community development program is a process of self-discovery in which the community, with proper guidance and assistance from the community worker, learns to identify and understand its own problems, and insofar as possible, plans and takes the necessary action to solve these problems for itself. In this process there is a reawakening of civic unity, a broadening of the sense of values, a growth of desire for improvements in all areas of community life, and a maturation of responsible citizenship.

The survey resulted from a shared-cost agreement between CARE and the Coffee Federation, after Richard W. Reuter, CARE's executive director, had explored with President Lleras Camargo practical measures to realize the latter's great hope for rebuilding the local fabric of Colombia's national life. Field work started on July 11, 1960, and continued for three months. The team consisted of three experienced CARE representatives, to which was added the full time services of the extraordinarily knowledgeable and enthusiastic Dr. Héctor Morales, appointed to the survey by the Rehabilitation Commis-

sion. Professor Richard W. Poston, author of various community studies who, as CARE's consultant on community development, had just finished a round-the-world survey on the subject, also aided the Colombia study.

The team visited about eighty-five community projects in fourteen of the seventeen departments of Colombia during this period, studied some thirty different agencies operating in Colombia at the community level, played a key role in the formation of two community development coordinating bodies in the important states of Antioquia and Valle, participated in the work of the newly formed Inter-university Seminar on Colombian Community Development, and helped in setting up through CARE missions a study tour made by two Colombian representatives to study community development activities in the Philippines, India, Iran, and Israel. The 100,000-word report that resulted from the survey's work has now been issued, and plans are in the making for its translation and book publication in the Spanish language.

The specific aims of the survey included: (1) Bringing into focus not only the scattered experience of Colombian communities in finding ways to improve their dismally low standards of living and to induce social stability after well over a decade of civil violence, but also the facilities available from both Colombian and international sources for community improvement. (2) Stimulating a realization that community development is a technique that has a special relevance to the underdeveloped world, and for this purpose to see that representatives of Colombia witness firsthand the advanced community development programs in the Philippines, India, Iran, and Israel through the auspices of CARE. (3) Defining the kind of training and personnel most suited to the local conditions upon which the success of a national movement of community development must depend.

The findings of the survey revealed above all a fact that surprisingly even few knowledgeable Colombians seemed to realize—the simple one that a national community development movement of significant proportions already existed. The basic concept of a collective effort to improve conditions of local life simultaneously on various fronts has been maturing for at least two years under the reconstruction plan of President Lleras. The basic facilities to realize it are available, and both public and private organizational structures and financial resources are being developed to assist it. The Coffee Federation, for example, is ready to spend 85,000,000 pesos a year for rural social development in coffee-growing areas and for training "socio-técnicos" or village workers to do the job. The federal government's various branches are organized to assist local programs in road building, housing, rural credit, cooperatives, public health, education, agricultural improvement. Most important of all, the government established in September a Division for Community Action in the Ministry of Government to serve as a focal point for the national program and chief coordinating agency. International and U.S. agencies are participating on a number of fronts. A regional agency like the Cauca Valley Corporation, modeled on the U. S. TVA, not only extends electric power resources to the countryside but

also carries out local extension services in health, home improvement, and agriculture. A variety of private agencies—Acción Cultural Popular (Radio Sutatenza), the Rockefeller Foundation, the National Apprenticeship Service, Heifer Project, and CARE—have contributed in a very substantial way to the improvement of local life by means, respectively, of rural radio education, agricultural and medical research, vocational training, livestock extension and improvement, and the programming of tools and equipment for direct community use.

There's no question about the availability of substantial resources for the job of rebuilding community life. This may be a surprise to many, even Colombians, who regard this republic as one of the so-called underdeveloped areas. (With an average per capita annual income of only \$283, a population that has tripled in the last fifty years, less than half its people able to read or write, prevailing low public health standards and rapidly spreading slum areas, serious disturbances of public order, the classification as underdeveloped is understandable.) What is lacking—or has been until now—is the coordination of these substantial resources of money, material, and organization for the rebuilding of local life.

The need for effective coordination was perhaps the chief emphasis of the survey's recommendations. Among other things the report proposed the establishment of a permanent working congress of representatives from all major agencies operating at the community level to provide a medium for exchanging information, working out inter-agency means for avoiding waste and duplication, and sharing knowledge of new technical and social developments.

Another essential element for the design of a useful training program for community development in Colombia is that the program should be thought through, organized and established by Colombians for Colombians.

It would obviously be impossible to apply the polyvalent concept to a really substantial national program that would penetrate the entire country. Involvement of so many professionals would be too expensive, for one thing. For another, with the receding of the violence, the team type of operation is no longer so widely needed.

What is needed under the present circumstances-and quickly—is the development of a large corps of what we began to call promotores del pueblo. The term is only awkwardly translatable, and in a sense it signifies a new set of skills, a new profession. The "promotor's" job does not require advanced academic training, but it does require a training in the application of common sense to community problems, a knowledge of what specialized skills and professional resources should be called on to meet specific community needs and where to find them, a sensitivity to the community as a living organism and not merely an unlinked chain of economic interests. He is not an "extensionist" with a single professional skill but a community generalist geared to help induce the process of local development. It is, at least from the point of view of the survey, the most important job in Colombia today.

The professional skills for development—in public health, practical education, agronomy, home improve-

ment, local small-scale industry—already exist in some considerable measure in Colombia, according to the findings of the survey. They should be used as professional skills, called on as needed. Finding the personnel for training as promotores is a different matter, but preliminary searches seem to reveal large numbers of underemployed young people eager for this kind of service to their country. The real test will come in the evolution of an adequate national training pattern for the job and the extent to which various operative agencies make use of it.

As a pioneering venture, the survey seemed to us significant for a number of reasons. As the first of its kind in Latin America, we felt that through it CARE was exploring a new potential of development for this part of the world. It was significant, too, because it was made in a part of the world where the local community has been traditionally and tragically overshadowed by the central sources of power and wealth.

Thirdly, the survey represented a unique joining of forces between CARE and a major economic, non-governmental agency of another country. The Coffee Federation and CARE shared equally the costs of the survey, but the cooperation is more than that. There was much evidence that the progress of the survey had indirect but considerable influence on activities in various parts of the country and on centering attention on the potential for local development. Early in September, for example, the Federation of Coffee Growers established a regular operating Department of Socio-Economic Affairs with the prime objective of creating the facilities for a major community development effort throughout coffee-growing areas all over Colombia.

Finally, the survey represented a unique evidence of CARE's versatility, and perhaps a new departure that can in the future mean much to deepening CARE's relationships with other peoples. Never before has CARE "programmed ideas, information and personnel" rather than material quite so directly. Never before has it entered into the survey kind of operation, except in task forces aimed specifically at establishing a standard CARE program.



Everyone pitches in on community development projects. This helpful miss is from Antioquia

POWER from the ANDES

STORES R. YOUNG

America is framed by the great mountain will of the Ander. There are hundreds of 15,000 for peaks, at a score of stants of Himalayan size, the highest, contagns, coars almost 25,000 feet above the aga. The winds from the Pacific bring great cloud masses over the coast and buffet them against the mountain barrier. As the clouds climb over the cold summits of the Andes, they drop their rain—in some places as much as two hundred inches a year. As Dr. Darfo Valencia, Colombian power engineer, sees it, "The only problem is to turn all those raindrops into kilowatts."

Most of the Andes rainfall finds it way cutward to the mighty river systems that flow for many hundreds in miles to the Atlantic Ocean—the Amaton, the Orinoco, and the Parana. The torrent that make the short steep journey from the mountains to the Pacific coast are tiny in comparison, but their precipitous descent gives the countries of that region a tremendous potential for the generation of electric power.

This is a fortunate circumstance; the recent explosive growth of South America has brought an almost insatiable demand for more electricity. In all the principal cities of Colombia, Ecuador, Peru, and Chile, the growth of power demands is such as to require a doubling of generating capacity every seven years or so.

The financing of these large increases in power capacity, whether of government or private companies, has been an area in which the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development has played an important role. In the four countries of the Pacific coast, the Bank has lent a total of \$140,000,000 for electric power development—\$61,000,000 to Chile, \$45,000,000 to Colombia, \$10,000,000 to Ecuador, and \$24,000,000 to Peru. It is estimated that these loans are helping to add an aggregate

of one mallion kilowane of new generating capacity. The following are a few examples of the problems that are being attacked.

COGOTÁ

Beginning with Colombia in the north, in Bogota, the capital, sales of electric power trebled between 1949 and 1958. It is estimated that by 1968 demand will be 440,000 kilowatts—more than four times the present capacity. The 1960 peak demand was 129,000 kilowatts, and it had to be countered by severa recioning of power. Permission has been althred for the construction of several important new industrial plants that would impose an additional load of 20,000 kilowatts on a system already so strained that permission to use even an electric bot plate must be sought from the power company—and will almost certainly be refused.

In January 1960, the International Bank made a loan equivalent to \$17,600,000 for projects to increase the supply of power to the Bogotá area. The loan was made to the autonomous municipal power agency Empress de Energia Electrica de Bogotá. The new installations will have a generating capacity of 117,000 kilowatts, and will nearly double the present capacity of the power system there. The projects now being undertaken are part of an expansion program that, by 1970, would add about 400,000 kilowatts of new capacity.

The topographical conditions in the Bogotá area are extremely favorable to the development of hydroelectric power. In the first 15½ miles after leaving the plateau on which Bogotá is situated, the Bogotá River drops from an elevation of 8,300 feet above sea level to about 2,400 feet. The municipal power company has partially used this nearby hydroelectric power potential in three power stations. One of the projects now being undertaken with Bank assistance is the addition of a fourth 18,000-kilowatt unit in one of the existing plants. In addition, a dam will be built on a tributary of the Bogotá, to create a reservoir to regulate the flow of water to existing power plants and to increase the flow sufficiently to permit the construction,

GEORGE R. YOUNG, assistant director of information at the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development, has been with the Bank since 1955. He has made many trips to Latin America and has firsthand knowledge of some of the power sites described in this article. Those discussed include only projects that have been helped by International Bank loans in the last lew years.

near an existing plant, of a new 66,000-kilowatt hydroelectric plant, to be known as Salto II. Empresa is also installing a new 33,000-kilowatt thermal power plant near Bogotá. This increase in the company's generating capacity will require extensive improvement and rehabilitation of the transmission and distribution facilities, which are also being undertaken.

The total cost of the projects is estimated at the equivalent of \$30,400,000. The International Bank's loan, in which five private U. S. banks are participating to the amount of \$691,000, will cover the foreign exchange requirements; local currency requirements will be provided by the company from its own resources.

MEDELLÍN

In Medellín, capital of the Province of Antioquia, installed capacity at the end of World War II was 35,000 kilowatts. In the past twenty years, however, the economic base of the province has shifted from coffee and gold mining to industry, principally textiles, and the population of Medellín has more than trebled. By 1960, demand from the new manufacturing industries had been met by a rise in capacity to 140,000 kilowatts. By the end of 1961 a further increase will be made, to 220,000 kilowatts. For the past thirty years power demand in Medellín has been increasing at a rate of 11 per cent a year, and shows no sign of slackening.

The International Bank helped ease the situation there in 1959 by making a twelve-million-dollar loan to the Empresas Públicas de Medellín, an autonomous public agency that provides power, telephone, water, and sewage services in the area, for a hydroelectric project with plants on the Guadalupe and Nare rivers.

CALI

Another center in Colombia that has had explosive growth in the past thirty years is Cali, the principal city of the rich Cauca Valley. Power demand there increases at a rate of about 16 per cent per year, and the existing capacity of 100,000 kilowatts is to be increased by 1963 to 250,000.



Working on route to carry water to new power plant for Quito, capital of Ecuador

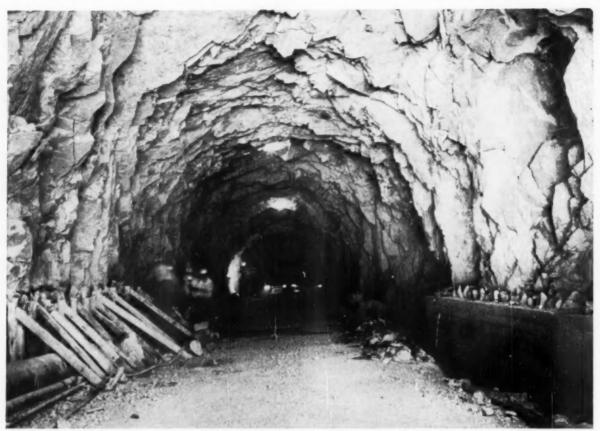


Site of power dam on Calima River, Colombia, to serve growing industrial and agricultural zone around Cali

Last year the International Bank made a loan equivalent to \$25,000,000 for the expansion of electric power facilities in the Cauca Valley. Five private U. S. banks are participating in the loan to the extent of \$559,000.

It was made jointly to the Cauca Valley Corporation, an autonomous regional organization responsible for developing the resources of the Valley, and to the Central Hidroeléctrica del Río Anchicaya Limitada (CHIDRAL), whose majority shareholder is the Cauca Valley Corporation. CHIDRAL had received three earlier Bank loans totaling \$10,830,000, which helped to finance the 25,000-kilowatt Yumbo thermal plant near Cali and 44,000 kilowatts of capacity in the Anchicaya hydroelectric plant, together with the expansion of transmission and distribution facilities.

Now, with the addition of a 33,000-kilowatt unit at the Yumbo steam plant and the construction of a new hydroelectric power plant on the Calima River with an ultimate capacity of 120,000 kilowatts, CHIDRAL's transmission system will be extended to serve twenty-five towns and



Big tunnel will divert Atlantic-bound waters to Pacific slopes for power plant at Huinco, above Lima, Peru

villages in the Valley and to interconnect it with the power system serving the Department of Caldas. Distribution systems in Cali and the other towns and villages will also be extended.

The total cost of the works to be undertaken is estimated to be equivalent to \$37,000,000. The Bank's loan will cover the foreign exchange requirements; most of the local currency requirements will be provided by CHIDRAL and by the Cauca Valley Corporation; the towns and villages now being brought into the CHIDRAL system will pay part of the local cost of expanding their distribution facilities. All major pieces of equipment are being procured through international competitive bidding.

QUITO

In Ecuador, next country to the south, the capital, Quito, at an altitude of over nine thousand feet above sea level, has suffered a chronic shortage of power. Rationing at times was so severe that municipal water pumping was cut off at hours of peak electrical demand. Under projects helped by \$10,000,000 in International Bank funds lent partly in 1956 and partly in 1957, work has advanced on a 20,000-kilowatt hydroelectric station just outside the city, which will be capable of expansion to double that capacity. In the meantime, a 6,000-kilowatt diesel plant

was put into use to meet the immediate crisis. The total cost of this project will be about \$16,000,000. With the full capacity contemplated, it should meet all area needs until 1967, and permit lower rates.

LIMA

Lima, Peru, is another capital that has grown rapidly, with many new industries having been established there in the last few years. Power sales have been rising at an average of 10 per cent a year. The privately owned Lima Light and Power Company, sole power distributor in the area, is planning a ten-year expansion to increase its generating capacity by 260,000 kilowatts. Most of this will come from a new hydroelectric plant at Huinco on the Santa Eulalia River, to start with 120,000 kilowatts capacity and eventually have double that. The project, for which the International Bank made a loan equivalent to \$24,000,000 to the company last year, involves another that calls for a most ingenious and difficult construction and engineering feat. The Marcapomacocha Diversion Scheme will collect water of the Marcapomacocha Basin on the eastern slope of the Andes, which would otherwise be wasted, and this will be diverted through a tunnel under the mountain range, at a height of almost 14,000 feet, to the Santa Eulalia Basin, to increase the flow available there. Sometimes the men in the tunnel work up to their chests in nearly freezing water, as blasting releases underground currents. This scheme will not only increase the flow at the site of the new plant at Huinco, but also increase the capacity of existing generating plants downstream and provide more drinking water for the capital.

SANTIAGO

In Chile, the International Bank's most recent power loan was of \$32,500,000, in 1959, made jointly to Empresa Nacional de Electricidad (Endesa), and the national Development Corporation. Endesa is a joint stock company owned almost entirely by the Development Corporation, a government agency. Endesa was established in 1944 to plan electric power development for the country and provide power facilities not provided by private companies. The loan, in which two U. S. private banks are participating to the extent of \$175,000, is mainly to help finance a 230,000-kilowatt hydroelectric plant to serve central Chile and its important industrial. commercial, and agricultural centers. It will be on the Rapel River, about seventy-five miles southwest of Santiago. There will be a concrete arch dam three hundred feet high that will create a reservoir able to store 570,000 acre feet of water; a powerhouse with first two, then four 70,000-kilowatt generators; and about 225 miles of transmission lines to serve Santiago and Valparaíso, the two largest cities, and their surrounding areas. About 25,000 acres of land will be irrigated by water drawn from the Rapel reservoir. The first two generators should be in operation late in 1964, the other two early in 1965.

A smaller amount of this same loan will help finance a 15,000-kilowatt thermal plant at the port of Huasco in northern Chile, to go into operation by the end of next year, intended particularly to provide power for the important iron mines being developed there. Total cost of the two projects is estimated at the equivalent of \$72,300,000, with the Bank loan providing only the foreign exchange requirements.

While the hydroelectric potential of the Andes is tremendous, in many places it offers a difficult challenge. Many miles of access roads to the sites in high gorges must often be built, and these must be able to carry all the construction machinery and the massive generating equipment for the plants. Harnessing the mountain torrents also calls for great ingenuity. Competition for supply contracts is keen in this business, with all the manufacturing countries of the world taking part. On the sites you find expert engineers from Switzerland, Germany, Italy, Japan, Great Britain, the United States, and other lands. They work amid scenes of striking beauty, in a wide variety of climates.

But the strangest thing about all these great hydroelectric schemes of South America is that they are so little known. To most people, electricity is something you get by flicking a switch. Very few give any thought to the ardors, the dangers, or the beauty of the work going on up in the mountains, to provide power for the industries and comforts of modern civilization.

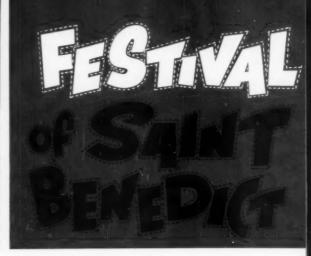


Building additions to Abanico power plant in Chile in 1957. Other plants are under construction now



Lordly vicuña has not abandoned his favorite haunts just because of a few transmission lines, in mountains above Lima





Quatipurú dancers perform in front of friends' houses

Folk Celebration Lives on in Quatipurú, Brazil

KATHARINE ROYAL CATE

IT WAS DECEMBER 26. Since five in the morning, my husband and I and a group of U. S. and Brazilian friends, including a Franciscan priest, had been bumping along over rough, unpaved roads of hardened red clay a few miles south of the Equator and not far from the Amazon, in search of a small community with the picturesque name of Quatipurú, where we had heard that a festival in honor of Saint Benedict was taking place. An unrelenting sun beat down upon us; and, when we looked out of the window through the thin haze of fine red dust raised by our car, the brilliance of sky and cloud and landscape was almost blinding. We had hoped to reach Quatipurú by mid-morning, but noon was now approaching, and there seemed to be no villages within miles of us. For over an hour, we had seen little sign of human life, except for an occasional abandoned manioc mill and one or two deserted farm clearings, set back from the road and surrounded by dense tropical foliage.

As we were checking the map once again to make certain that we really were on the right road, we were startled by a sudden explosion in the distance. We listened carefully, and the noise came again—the sharp crack of an exploding rocket shattering the silence of the deserted countryside. Firecrackers? A festival! This must be Quatipurú! The car climbed a small hill, rounded several sharp curves, and we found ourselves in the center of the gaily-decorated main square of one of the most charming villages we had ever seen in Brazil. A profusion of color, music, dance, and costume appeared before our blinking eyes, as if some Amazon spirit had suddenly raised a beautiful mirage in front of us.

We had been driving through the part of the immense Brazilian state of Pará known as the Zona Bragantina, or Bragança Zone. This is a large and relatively important agricultural region that extends east from the famous old rubber port of Belém, out to the Atlantic, and down almost to the Maranhão state border.

The Bragança Zone has had a long and interesting history that has given it characteristics somewhat different from those of the rest of the Amazon region. In the first place, it is more densely populated, as a result of its proximity to the state capital, Belém, a city of some three hundred thousand inhabitants. In this favored location, the Bragança Zone has held an attraction for agricultural colonists both from other parts of Brazil and from southern Europe. During the last hundred years, various groups of immigrant farmers from Spain, Portugal, and Italy have been encouraged to settle there through colonization programs of the state government. Although today the land is showing many signs of soil exhaustion, it is still extensively planted in cash crops such as manioc, cotton, tobacco, rice, corn, and vegetable fibers for the Belém market, and hides are another important product.

Another distinctive feature of the zone is the Belém-Bragança Railroad, one of the few railroads in the whole Amazon region and an important stimulus to the continued economic development of the lands east of Belém. It was constructed under difficult conditions during the years 1870 to 1908, shortly before the disastrous, and now almost legendary, "bust" of the Amazon rubber boom. The line links most of the larger towns of the Bragança Zone; although it was originally planned to link Belém with São Luiz de Maranhão, capital of the neighboring state, this dream was never realized. Today the line comes to an abrupt halt a few miles past the town of Bragança, one hundred and twenty miles E.N.E. of Belém, as if afraid to continue on through the great wall of tropical rain forest beyond and some of the country's few remaining enclaves of tribal Indians who still maintain their primitive cultures almost untouched by twentiethcentury Brazilian civilization.

KATHABINE ROYAL CATE, U.S. anthropologist and folklorist, has lectured on Brazilian folklore and folk dance in the United States and Brazil under the name of Katarina Real (a translation of her maiden name). She revisited Quatipurú last December while on an OAS fellowship.

Bragança, a town of some six thousand inhabitants, and the village of Quatipurú, located on the Atlantic coast some thirty miles away from the railroad, are two communities in the area where the traditional cult of Saint Benedict continues to thrive and where elaborate festivals in his honor are held annually. We had visited the Bragança festival the year before and now were eagerly anticipating Quatipurú's celebration to see if it could possibly compare in gaiety and pageantry.

The central feature of the festivals in both communities is the marujada ("group of sailors") dance group, made up of men, women, and children who have made promessas to Saint Benedict. A promessa is a kind of compact with a saint, in this case Saint Benedict, a vow that one will dance in his honor during the December festivities in return for some blessing received during the year or something earnestly desired. (If the dancer is a young, unmarried girl, Saint Benedict is usually being asked to find her a nice husband.) The cult of Saint Benedict in the Brazilian Amazon originated with the Rosário Brotherhoods established during the time of slavery by the Portuguese plantation owners and Catholic missionaries as an aid in converting the imported African Negroes to Christianity. The marujada in the Bragança Zone stems, therefore, from the same cultural-historical matrix that Barbosa Lessa has described in his fascinating article on the St. Benedict festival in Aparecida, São Paulo State (AMÉRICAS, July 1956), that is, the widespread tradition of the congadas and moçambiques in honor of the black Saint Benedict, which was so popular among the Negroes in past centuries and continues in certain rural communities in the south of the country today.

Although the Amazon marujadas show certain cultural affinities with folk dances and dramas of other regions, they also contain distinctive elements that reflect the fusion of cultural elements in different proportions from those of related dances in southern Brazil. One of the explanations for these differences may be that the number of Negroes in the Amazon was never large, since the plantation owners continued to use the aboriginal Indians as enslaved field hands almost up until the time of the abolition (1888), even though the practice was strongly discouraged by the Church and the Government. Of the few Negroes brought into the Bragança Zone, many were highly valuable house slaves purchased from the coastal cities of Bahia and Recife; and most of them had already undergone indoctrination in the Catholic faith and had become integrated into Brazilian culture before being brought north. Some of them were already freemen; others were freed upon arrival; and, as a result, the Negroes in the Amazon occupied a somewhat higher status than the local Indians.

It was these Negroes who brought into the region their cult of Saint Benedict and the colorful "Congo Dances" that have shown such tenacious persistence in the Bragança Zone, albeit in highly modified forms. Apparently their dances were greatly admired by the local populace, since over the years, as the Negroes gradually disappeared or were absorbed genetically, their places were taken by the local caboclos (rural Brazilians, often part Indian);

and today, most of the marujada participants show varying degrees of Caucasian and Indian ancestry, rather than Negro. Another interesting aspect of both the Quatipurú and Bragança marujadas is the high proportion of female participants in the dance, in contrast to the congadas of southern Brazil, in which most of the dancers are male.

It should also be noted, however, that the extraordinary longevity of some of the Amazon Negroes and their direct descendants has permitted a few old-timers to survive until the present day. Among the marujada dancers there may still be found a number of Negroes who were members of the Rosário Brotherhoods. They are easily distinguishable by their striking height (in contrast to the average caboclo, who is quite short), blue-black skin, and extreme age, and are called by the special term of prêtos velhos, or "old Negroes," spoken in a tone of respectful admiration or affection. Among the many prêtos velhos we encountered in the Amazon, few could cite their exact ages; but, according to local informants, many of them were in their seventies and some in their eighties.

From the mayor of Bragança, we learned that it was formerly the tradition in the zone for the plantation owners to give their Negro and Indian field hands fifteen days off at Christmas for their Saint Benedict festivities. At this time, they would perform their animated dances in order to entertain their masters and to thank them for their kindness during the year. With the passing of the years and the abolition of slavery, not only did the Negro and Indian groups fuse into one, but they also gradually incorporated a variety of interesting salon dances from the landowning aristocracy into their annual December festival. Today, the marujada groups perform, in addition to their traditional dances, the mazurka, the fandango, and the French quadrille.

Particularly remarkable is their performance of the lundu (also called lundum), which was an immensely popular dance of the Brazilian upper class during the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. The lundu, however, was originally influenced by the Africans themselves and is a highly rhythmic "courtship dance," involving provocative and sensuous movements on the part of both



Townspeople say no St. Benedict festival would be complete without Pai Teonas and Pai Manoel, two old Negroes

male and female partners. Understandably, this dance was considered "promiscuous" and even vulgar by some in the upper class. It was often prohibited and finally fell into disfavor as other salon dances gradually replaced it. Today, the *lundu* has been redeposited in the hands of the ordinary folk, who find it an extremely amusing dance and derive great pleasure from performing it.

Let us now return to the main square of Quatipurú, which is bustling with excitement for the great annual celebration in honor of its patron, Saint Benedict. Normally, Quatipurú is a quiet, isolated, little village of no more than a thousand inhabitants, but today its population has been swelled to several thousand by people who have come from all the outlying areas for this eagerly awaited occasion. On one side of the square, ancient trucks and buses are still disgorging scores of visitors from neighboring towns, and all are dressed in holiday finery.

In the center of the square is a small Catholic church of simple Portuguese baroque design, freshly whitewashed and trimmed in deep blue. Set in a grove of majestic palm trees, it makes a striking contrast to the dark green of the surrounding foliage. The church of course represents the religious aspect of the festival. Someone is busily igniting rockets and firecrackers at one of the side entrances.

On the other side of the square is the arraial, a large shed with palm-thatch roof and dirt floor, open on all sides. This building is the center of the secular side of the festival. In front of the arraial, the mastro has been erected. This is a tall, straight pole, cut from the trunk of a hardwood tree and decorated with many tropical fruits and other gifts. At the top, a flag honoring Saint Benedict is flying. The mastro is put up at the beginning of the festival by those who are sponsoring it that year; and it stands until the end, when new sponsors have been appointed for the coming year. Then it is cut down, and, after its trimmings have been given away or sold at auction (they are considered to be very lucky), it is burned. In Quatipurú, the Saint Benedict festival begins on December 18 and lasts until December 26, the end of the novena. However, the marujada is sometimes performed one final time on New Year's Day; and, in that case, the mastro stays up until then.

Some of the marujada dancers are already gathering near the arraial in preparation for their "dancing journey" through the village. Undoubtedly, the most striking feature of their brilliant costumes is the elaborate tall headdress, made from a straw or cardboard hat covered with gold or silver paper and decorated, to a height of up to two feet, with white duck feathers, paper flowers, sequins, beads, and mirrors. Attached to the back of the hat are multicolored ribbons that fly gaily in all directions as the dancers perform their agile turns. At the end of the festival, these ribbons are removed by the dancer and taken to the church to be laid at the feet of the statue of Saint Benedict as proof that the promessa has been duly carried out.

The rest of the costume is also extremely colorful. The women wear a bright red skirt of cotton, silk, or satin, and under it, many heavily starched petticoats trimmed



Dancers with ornately decorated hats go through their paces on bluff overlooking river



More than fifty people can ride the festival carrousel at once. It's pushed by young boys of the town

with decorative lace. The skirt reaches almost to the ground so that the dancers' bare feet are seen only when the dance calls for a rapid change of direction. A loose white cotton blouse is worn over the skirt, and is heavily starched and trimmed with handmade laces of various designs, much in the pattern of the typical Afro-Bahian women's dress. Across the blouse is worn a red satin sash. attached at the right shoulder and tied at the waist on the left. The men wear a far simpler costume, usually white trousers and a jacket or a loose white shirt. Sometimes they wear a small straw hat with paper flowers attached and a wide red hatband. In Bragança especially, some of the men's hats are quite elaborate, often tricornered, with masses of colored flowers sprouting from the brim. There, the men also accompany their dancing with tiny handcarved castanets worn over the middle finger and hit against the palm of the hand with sharp beats.

As we are talking to the dancers, two giant figures come over to join the group and are enthusiastically greeted by the surrounding crowd. They are Pai Teonas and Pai Manoel, two aged prêtos velhos we have already heard a great deal about. Pai Teonas and Pai Manoel are brothers and are the last two Negroes left in Quatipurú. They are addressed as "pai," or father, as a sign of respect for their age and their long association with the marujada. Both of them are almost six and a half feet tall, thus towering at least a foot above the rest of the dancers. One of them is said to be in his sixties and the other in

his seventies, although neither has a grey hair. These two brothers were members of the old Rosário Brotherhood in the village, and they are veritable storehouses of information on the history of the marujada, its membership during many years, and all of its traditional songs and dances. As a result, they have been accorded a kind of "life membership" in the dance group and have become almost legendary throughout the Bragança Zone. Everyone says no marujada in Quatipurú would be complete without Pai Teonas and Pai Manoel.

From the arraial, we move out into the center of the square through the hundreds of Quatipurenses and visitors and various peddlers selling homemade toys, candies. and other delicacies. Another remarkable sight appears. It is the carrousel, a true product of folk ingenuity, constructed by hand of branches and boards, and large enough to hold over fifty people. There is neither motor nor machinery in the village to run it, since the local power plant has been inoperative for several years, so young boys have volunteered to run along beside it and pull it around. They do this so enthusiastically that a ride can be quite terrifying. The musical accompaniment is provided by three musicians sitting on the ground inside the carrousel, playing delightful marzurkas, polkas, and sambas, on violin, banjo, and guitar. A ride costs about half a cent and there is a long waiting line. The marujada dancers take their places on board, the music starts, and the carrousel begins to whirl, producing a sparkling blur of gold, silver, red, and white costumes under the bright

Now it is time to follow the *marujos* and *marujas* (male and female "sailors") through the palm-lined streets of Quatipurú as they go "visiting" from house to house, where they have been specially invited and where they will receive refreshments and warm hospitality.

The dancers move in two long rows, one headed by the capitôa ("lady captain") and the other by a vice-capitôa. There are about twenty women and children in each row, and their step for this procession is a sort of running shuffle. Behind them walk the musicians, playing a slow and somewhat mournful song that is known as the dança da marujada. From time to time, the dancers pause in front of a friend's house to perform an intricate choreographic figure: the two lines cross and reverse direction, then form a large circle, and finally wind out into two lines again. All of the participants are extremely talented dancers, and the tight discipline of the choreography must represent months of rehearsal. There is an air of seriousness in their demeanor, since the dança da marujada is semi-religious and is not to be taken lightly.

The musicians consist of four tambourine players, one violinist, one violeiro (guitarist), and a man playing a cavaquinho, a small instrument like a ukelele. In addition, there is a shy old caboclo playing a bandola, or banjo, which he has carved himself from one piece of marupá (a tropical hardwood). Finally, there are the towering figures of Pai Teonas and Pai Manoel, each playing a long curimbó, a type of conga drum. All of the musicians are farmers; and, although few of them are in costume, they are nevertheless a part of the marujada group every

vear.

The dancers slowly make their way down the streets of the village and are now performing the figures on a bluff overlooking the Quatipurú River. Their background is a row of small houses painted bright pastel colors, and across the shimmering river lies the lush green of the jungle. We pass a house where a wedding is being celebrated, and the bride and groom may be seen sitting alone in the front parlor awaiting callers, while all the guests are having a merry time in the dining room. We are invited in to taste the special wedding sweets and to have a cup of Brazilian champagne.

Then we proceed to the house of Pedro Amorim, a well-to-do merchant of Portuguese descent. Mr. Amorim runs the local country store, where all the necessities of rural life may be found. He has a large house with a special ballroom at one side where the dancers may perform. In the parlor, there are chairs arranged for visitors. At the back of the house, there is a dining room with the table laden with food and soft drinks for the marujada dancers.

We take our chairs, and in a few minutes the dancers are performing an animated and highly amusing number called "The Tom and the Hen Turkey." This is how it goes: girl and boy move into the center of a large circle of singers and musicians and proceed to imitate "turkey courtship," the man flapping his arms as if they were wings while running after the girl. The girl pretends to avoid him, but as he approaches, she tries to throw her skirt over his head before he can catch her with his "wings." The one who loses has to drop out and is replaced by another partner of the same sex.

The U. S. consul, who is with our party, is called upon to perform and does so admirably, followed by Mr. Amorim. Then we find it is our own turn to enter this hilarious game. In all cases, our partners are dark-skinned Brazilians of the humble folk; and our antics are greeted by uproarious laughter from all the marujas and marujos.

It is time to leave Mr. Amorim's house, since the annual Saint Benedict banquet is soon to be served. The marujada group gets back into formation in the street outside the front door, and Mr. Amorim comes out to take the lead with the capitôa. Although he has not made a promise to the saint and is not a permanent member of the group, he has an ex officio membership because of his cooperation in arranging the festival, and he knows all the songs and dances and even makes up extemporaneous verses describing the action.

We return to the arraial to find that long tables have been set up both inside and out and that an elaborate repast has been laid. At the head table, Mr. Amorim sits with the mayor of the nearby town of Capanema, the sponsors of this year's festival, and other distinguished visitors. After all the visitors and many of the Quatipurenses have taken their places, there is still a large crowd of several hundred waiting for the next "sitting."

Everyone stands for the blessing, sung by the crowd in a kind of plain chant in corrupted Latin mixed with Portuguese. Five hundred voices, singing a capella in moving "folk harmony," rise in a reverent request for the

blessing of the Virgin on their festival banquet.

Then come the important speeches. The Mayor of Capanema is introduced, greets all the guests, and congratulates the Quatipurenses on the magnificence of their festival. Then Mr. Amorim speaks and brings up the one discordant note of the whole day. The parish priest of the village is sitting alone in his house right across the square, having refused to attend the banquet since he does not approve of the marujada or of the importance that the secular festivities occupy in the minds of the populace. (He is not a Brazilian, but an Italian. Many of the parish churches in the Bragança Zone are staffed by members of foreign priestly orders, a necessity in Brazil, where a shortage of Catholic priests has existed for many years. Similarly, it is interesting to note that in the town of Bragança all the priests leave town during the Saint Benedict festival. They disapprove of both the marujada and the religious brotherhood that sponsors it; but they have not been able to prevent the festival from taking place because the brotherhood owns the church.) Amorim's speech is one of eloquence and sincerity. He applauds the simple faith and devotion of the townsfolk, commending them for their vigorous efforts and great financial sacrifices to keep the old Saint Benedict traditions alive in Quatipurú, "one of the folkloric jewels of the whole Bragança Zone."

The moment has arrived for announcing the sponsors for the coming year, and an air of tense anticipation fills the air. Their names are read aloud, and there is tremendous applause as they stand to make acceptance speeches and promise "an even bigger and better festival with all

kinds of surprises."

The banquet continues until almost sundown with sitting following sitting until everyone in the community has been served. Just at sunset, the novena service is held in the parish church. This is preceded by a long procession of children dressed as blue and white angels and adults who follow the image of Saint Benedict as it is carried around the square and through the streets of the village, amid a thundering roar of rockets.

It is evening now, and all the tables have been removed from the dance floor of the *arraial* in preparation for the finale of the festival. All the *marujada* dancers are there, together with the many others in the village who will join

in the quadrilles and other square dances.

First, there is a chorado with Mr. Amorim doing the "calls." This square dance brings two couples into the center of a large circle. The men stand on one side and the women on the other at a distance of about four feet. As the music begins, they move toward each other and back again with a light running step, then change sides and turn to one side with a peculiar leaning motion, as if on a rolling ship. Mr. Amorim improvises a series of verses that provoke a good deal of laughter, and these are followed by the chorus.

Next, there is a carimbó, a dance with an extremely rapid rhythm that sounds quite African. An enormous drum, the carimbó, is laid on its side in the center of the room; and a drummer straddles the end and begins to beat the drumhead. The drum is made from a hollow log



Quatipurú's church, freshly whitewashed and trimmed with deep blue, is site of novena services during the festival

of the ciriuba tree; and, being a good five feet long and two feet in diameter, it produces a low-pitched bellow. The dance starts off slowly, but the rhythm gradually accelerates, and few can keep up with it for long.

The retumbão (also known in Quatipuru as the lundum) follows, and Mr. Amorim is the principal solo dancer. The dance has a strong Iberian flavor, with the guitars strummed in a type of tanguillo rhythm while Amorim does an intricate tap dance on the hard dirt floor, clapping out a counterbeat. His efforts draw loud applause

from the admiring crowd.

Then the quadrille is announced. The gentlemen are advised to choose their ladies and take their places. The dance is in four parts, and there are different figures for each one. A most remarkable sight presents itself for "the fourth and last part." Mr. Amorim's two teen-age daughters appear in the center of the room to perform the final figures. Each is under five feet, quite plump, and very fair. Two tall black figures emerge from the crowd to be their partners. They are old Pai Teonas and Pai Manoel! The contrast is spectacular, but the dancing is performed with extreme agility and grace. The crowd applauds so enthusiastically that a repeat performance is necessary.

There follows a gay mazurka to the accompaniment of violin, tambourines, and drums. This is danced barefoot by almost a hundred of these talented rural Brazilians with a courtly elegance and precision that might well have been the envy of the nobility in European ballrooms a

century ago.

The festival is now drawing to a close, and many tired but smiling spectators are slowly disappearing into the darkness in the direction of their homes. It is time for the despedida, or farewell, of the marujada. Like a modern troubadour, Mr. Amorim composes verses dedicated to several of the visitors at the festival, including myself, to my delight and amazement.

Then the chorus sings:

Vamos embora, capitôa Let's go, captain, Para o ano, par'o ano não vortá! Not to return until next year.

The warm tropical night is filled with the melodic tribute of many voices bidding farewell to Saint Benedict and asking for his protection during the coming year until they dance another marujada in his honor.

THE OAS IN ACTION

A NEW APPROACH

A new Department of Social Affairs is being organized within the Pan American Union. In line with recommendations of the Act of Bogotá and the Meeting of High-Level Representatives to Strengthen the Inter-American Economic and Social Council, Economic Affairs will be a separate department and Social Affairs will take on some new programs and expand and reorient others dealing with social matters that have been carried on by the combined Department of Economic and Social Affairs.

The work of the new Department of Social Affairs, under the direction of Mexican anthropologist Angel Palerm, former Executive Officer of the PAU, will be divided into two areas: technical studies and activities, and field training and research.

Housing and education studies will be given high priority in the Department's proposed program. In the housing field, a survey will be made of Latin America's needs, especially for low-cost and rural housing.

The Department will prepare an annual report on social development in the Latin American countries, which will be used in the annual study of the economic and social situation of Latin America to be prepared jointly by the Department of Economic Affairs of the PAU and the UN Economic Commission for Latin America and published as an OAS-ECLA document. It will be presented annually to the Ministerial meeting of the IA-ECOSOC after the reorganization of that organ is completed.

Other new studies proposed for the Department of Social Affairs include continuing analyses of the great amount of raw demographic data being compiled in the Americas, and surveys of social structure and social mobility in both urban and rural areas, with emphasis on students and the extreme lower class, two groups that have not as yet been extensively studied. PAU personnel in Social Affairs are already making studies in the fields of social security, cooperatives, and labor. They will begin one survey of the contribution of social security to rural development and to the financing of housing programs, and another on the role of cooperatives in agrarian reform programs. Plans also call for holding a meeting of experts to advise the OAS on labor relations and the compilation of an up-to-date directory of labor organizations in the Hemisphere.

The Department will have supervision of these existing OAS inter-American projects: the Hous-

ing and Planning Center, the Course in Social Welfare Administration, the Program for Advanced Training in Applied Social Sciences, the Program for Training in Business Administration, and the Program for Advanced Social Science Studies in the Caribbean Area. The Department will also be responsible for the new Program for Urban and Regional Planning.

New training courses will be set up and administered by Social Affairs on these subjects: agricultural cooperatives, electrification cooperatives, rural sociology, community development, and stabilization and restoration of archaeological monuments.

PAN AMERICAN DAY IN WASHINGTON

Highlight of the celebration of Pan American Day in the United States was a special session of the OAS Council attended by President John F. Kennedy.

In his address, Council Chairman Fernando Lobo declared: "In this Hemisphere, our concern has been to avoid coercion or oppression. That is certainly necessary, but up to a short time ago, we had forgotten the other inseparable element of freedom—those essential, material needs of man. And so we also forgot that oppression thrives, and coercion may be easier, when needs are greater; that man, in his natural and human rebellion to satisfy essential needs, sometimes believes that he can forego ideals, principles, and basic legal concepts.

"... We must, above all, remove the cause of present discontent and disagreements, and promote accelerated economic development and social justice by giving reality to Operation Pan America, in a joint effort, in an alliance for progress, in order to redeem the great masses that have suffered for four hundred years in the Americas, and which therefore are today in rebellion."

President Kennedy said in part: "Our task is to build a society of men and women conscious of their individual identity and of their common interest. This means re-creating our social systems so that they will better serve both men and nations. . . . It means social legislation for the workers, and agrarian legislation for those who labor on the land. It means the abolition of illiteracy-schools for children and for adults as well-and it means strengthened institutes of higher education, technical as well as humane. It means doctors and hospitals for the sick. It means roads linking the interior frontiers with the markets and ports of the coast. It means the spread of industry and the steady increase of both industrial and agricultural production. And it means, above all, the assurance that the benefits of economic growth will accrue, not just for the few, but to the entire national community."

DAVID MANZUR'S Luminous Geometry



MATILDE DE ORTEGA

HIS NAME is David Manzur and he was born in Neira, Colombia, in 1929. He is a finished artist and has the right to be called one, because in his short career, begun in 1952, he has won the recognition of the critics, not only in his own country, but also in other nations, and of the public also, the great "monster" that opens and closes doors to fame, and has the last word.

David Manzur opened his Washington exhibition one day last February. His twenty-four paintings hung on the walls of the Art Gallery of the Pan American Union. The official opening, attended by the Secretary General of the OAS, Dr. José A. Mora, and the Colombian Ambassador. Carlos Sanz de Santamaría, was held at the hour customary for these openings. Let us say at five in the afternoon. Fifteen minutes later, fourteen paintings had been sold; the rest, on the following day.

It is not usual for such things to happen in Washington. Not because its people do not have an interest in art, but because it is a bureaucratic city and the majority of its residents live on a limited budget, and it is a sacrifice for them to invest money in paintings and sculpture. Nevertheless, this did not deter the purchasers, who in general are modest employees of the government or some international organization, and who felt attracted by a picture and wished to see it hung on the walls of their houses or apartments.

This is very different from what happens in industrial centers like New York, Chicago, or San Francisco, where the purchasing power is greater. There works of art are purchased by those who like them, by the snob, and by the commercial dealer.

But what seems like a disadvantage turns out to be an advantage. In Washington, the people who buy a painting

do it because they like it. They really value it and prefer to sacrifice, perhaps a trip to Bermuda or Miami, in order to possess it. The artist, of course, is pleased to see his paintings in the hands of persons who respond to his sensitivity and to the message he wished to transmit. For this reason, the twenty-four paintings of David Manzur are in very good hands.

Colombia, actually, has a modest artistic trajectory. Its past was influenced by Spain. The religious painting of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, common in Latin America, was the result of the influence of the religious orders and of the missions established in the New World, which were centers of education and culture during the colonial period. Later, European innovations influenced the schools of the new continent, although slowly, because the lack of personal contacts and the distances involved were obstacles to a more rapid assimilation. At the time when impressionism, neo-impressionism, cubism, and German expressionism had already run their course in Europe, these currents were newcomers to these shores. But the Latin American cities were not young—they were isolated. From this period, the artists' names that have been rescued from oblivion are very few.

Certain tendencies of expressionism confused, and still confuse, painting in Latin America, especially when they follow a stereotyped concept of social justice, reform, or social change. Painting never gains from this extra-artistic spirit and art never gains when used as social propaganda. Colombia, too, passed through the epoch of engagé painting, although on a minor scale.

It was Alejandro Obregón who opened a new door to Colombian pictorial art. With him there appears a group of painters who have transcended national boundaries to win universal attention, because their language is universal. Obregón, Grau, Ramírez, Villegas seek to express in their painting the solid reality of art, in which color, form, and imagination derive from fundamental principles of aesthetics. And from them arose a generation of younger painters, including David Manzur.

Manzur studied at the School of Fine Arts in Bogotá, the Claret School of Drawing in the Canary Islands, and at the Art Students League in New York. Among others, he has held eight one-man exhibitions in his country, participated in the biennial exhibitions of Mexico and Venice in 1958, and in a group show in New York.

"We all paint and draw as children, obviously that doesn't count," Manzur told us. And he gives the impression of being a child, with his affable, almost timid, manner, and his alert outlook toward the outside world. Nevertheless, his painting is mature. His work is equally

spontaneous and reflective.

Manzur starts from Obregón, from that exciting, vigorous coherence which marks his work. But it is not that he imitates, copies, or re-creates, but rather that he uses the language of the initiator in order to create his own, with which to continue and expand the style of the master. As Manzur works he creates relationships in color and in form. But at the same time he seeks transparency, which he superimposes while maintaining precision of form. No line is there without a purpose. Each one has the dimension necessary to give volume to the shapes and to achieve the feeling of depth through uninterrupted luminosity. Manzur works his canvases with the technique of the Flemish masters. By using a smooth base coat, made of a mixture of casein and white of egg, he gives transparency to the oils, as if they were on a mirror or over a crystal, from whose depths the light radiates.

The forms Manzur creates, inspired by living things or actual objects—for he is a semi-abstract painter and



El Mar (The Sea)



Elementos para un Ángel (Elements for an Angel)

draws his inspiration from the things around him—are transparent, outlined with precision, and placed in a balanced arrangement. He uses geometry, not as the cubists do to produce a new dimension in form, but rather to express his own subjective interpretation. He separates the elements in order to isolate them, to give each its own value, and to reconstruct them according to his emotion. It is a disintegration of color and form which later, reunited in the composition, give the image that the artist pursues—the idea he wishes to transmit. That is why he tells us: "Each artist must create, must work. The idea must come spontaneously, but it must be worked out with care."

Thus, for example, in his painting El Mar (The Sea), he can portray marine life with snails or fish, but the immense mystery of its profundity is reflected in the colors and forms that complete the painting. The colors of deep waters, one over another, create distances through which the light filters from some eternity—a light that rends the darkness, but also accentuates the mystery of its depth.

Similarly in his painting Elementos para un Ángel (Elements for an Angel) Manzur uses light to emphasize an idea. He takes shapes apart and purifies them in the crucible of his imagination. Color and form are amalgamated by light, and as they take shape on the canvas they acquire a subtle, diaphanous quality. The material element, in this process that might be called a regression, becomes ever more transparent until it seems to escape beyond the confines of the painting and suggest the infinite. Manzur expresses his idea in physical form through the transfiguration of the material—which may possibly be the origin of the painting.

In the work of Manzur, hope is reflected in light. It is a light that is the antithesis of darkness, the darkness of fanaticism, of the spirit of evil and of chaos.

The Man with the Yellow/Cart

A short story by LUIS HEIREMANS

Illustrated by ROBERTA WIDGER

But he, willing to justify himself, said unto Jesus: "And who is my neighbour?" Luke 10:29

SINCE EIGHT IN THE MORNING Zunilda had been waiting on the doorstep of the house with her cardboard carton, straw chair, and bronze bedstead. From time to time she looked down the street, to the right and then to the left, but the cart that she was expecting to pick her up was nowhere in sight. As it was now about eleven, she had decided to sit down on the stone steps to wait. There she was, small, frail, hardly even there, squatting as she used to do when she played with the children, next to the bronze bedstead on whose rungs the sun made little pictures.

"Oh, the things that can happen to a person," she thought to herself. "That man promised to be here at eight and now it's . . . wait a minute, let me look at the hands of the clock on the church. It must be about eleven, because that's the way the hands are when my mistress tells me to fix the children's lunch. Oh, dear, what am I going to do now?"

The family had left for a vacation in the country this morning, with the car loaded down; but they were not as happy as in other years, because this vacation would not be over in March but would go on and on. They had gone to live at the farm of the lady's uncle Nicanor, and it looked as if they were not coming back. The fact is that the family had lost all its money overnight. In a business deal or something of the sort.

Then things began to happen fast: several men came with some big books and noted in them every piece of furniture and china and even the things in the little room on the third floor, to which the children and grandchildren never climbed any more. Then they put a white flag with black letters on the door, and the house was filled with strange people. They looked at everything and touched it; they sat down hard on the chairs in the living room as if they wished to break them, and then got up immediately; they looked more closely at the underside of the rugs than the top of them, even though the top was much prettier; and they turned over the plates and cups as if they didn't know that these things are washed every day in this house, and with soap.

A few days before the lady had called her and said: "My dear, what I have to tell you is very serious and very grave."

The lady was very tall, bony, and strong-willed. Zunilda had always been a little afraid of her, and at this she retreated toward the door, clutching the shirt that she had been mending.

"Eduardo's business hasn't been doing very well and we are going to have to cut down on things."

Zunilda knew how it hurt her to have to say those words. Even though she pronounced them with all their letters and in a clear voice, Zunilda realized that something was happening inside her and remembered one night when she had hidden behind a door to watch her mistress leave for the opera, in those days when they still went to the opera, with the pearls she had inherited from Beatriz, and with a far-off look and a firm step. That was how she remembered her now.

"As always, we are going to spend the summer at Nicanor's place. The years go by, fortunes are lost, families disappear, and Nicanor remains as firm as a rock and richer than Croesus."

The lady had a habit of going off into monologues in front of the servant. Zunilda could remember having had to listen, ever since she had begun to work for the lady as a girl, to musings that she didn't understand and that, with the passing of time, she didn't even hear.

"But now we will stay there until Eduardo is better off. But that's not the worst. . . ."

And as she said these words, the lady went on knitting as if she wanted to minimize the importance of what she was about to say.

Zunilda looked at the pair of needles and the way the coarse wool, the wool for the poor, was being transformed into something that was almost formless and could well have been a scarf or a sock.

"The worst is that we're going to have to sell the house and the furniture. If we come back here to live someday, I suppose that we will rent an apartment, although I think that I would rather stay in the country until I die. Also—and this will be hard to bear, Zunilda—we are going to have to let all of you go. Don't think that it doesn't hurt me," she added quickly. "It really does, a great deal. Especially since you have been with me ever since I was married, you watched the children grow up, and now you help with the grandchildren all you can.

Luis A. Heiremans is a Chilean now residing in Paris. A new book of his short stories has been published by Monticello College in the United States: Seres de un Día (Beings of a Day). In June, the Chilean Teatro de Ensayo is scheduled to present his new play Versos de Ciego (A Blind Man's Verses) at the Théâtre des Nations in Paris.

But life has its setbacks, and we must accept God's will."

Zunilda didn't understand what the lady was trying to tell her. She took a timid step forward and asked: "You mean you don't need me any longer?"

The lady did not answer. But her fingers got tangled in her knitting and she dropped a stitch, Uttering a sharp exclamation, she removed one of the needles and undid a few rows.

"When we leave for the country, you'll have to look for somewhere to go. I asked Nicanor if I could take you with us; but he said that he has more than enough servants and a full house. I couldn't say anything more to him. When one is only a guest—"

She left the sentence in the air. She looked at her knitting, that knitting for the poor, as if she were making it for herself. Zunilda murmured the usual reply, a "Very well, Ma'am," and left the room without having been able to understand what her mistress had said. In the kitchen, however, the other servants opened her eyes unmercifully.

"They're throwing us out. That's how they pay a person for her sacrifices!"

"They're throwing us out?" asked Zunilda, and it all seemed hard to believe.

But things began to happen quickly. One day the house was filled with people, and a man stood on a stand at the end of the living room, and with a hammer in his hand began to sing out numbers and tell jokes. The next day the movers came and took the furniture, the rugs, the mirrors, everything—even the shower curtain. From her corner, Zunilda watched them touch those tables and chairs that she had dusted so painstakingly. In the late afternoon, when the living room was full of long sad shadows that had no place to hide because all the furni-

ture was gone, the last men came and one of them said to her that they had come to get the piano on the second floor.

She led them up the stairs, where their steps resounded because the carpet had been taken too, up to the room where the piano was. There, many years ago, little Eduardo used to practice. She remembered the boy's hands traveling over the keyboard like little rabbits. Little Eduardo was so different from the rest; he was going to be an artist, in spite of the fact that his father said he did not want that sort of thing for his children. It seemed as if she could still hear a few bars of music as she opened the door and remembered that afternoon, just before the boy died, when he threw himself into her arms, sobbing desperately, and said to her that everything was difficult, too difficult. That was exactly how she felt now, with her stomach in a tight knot, filled with the desire to tell someone what had befallen her. She wanted to tell the oldest of the four movers, the one with a green bandana around his neck, and even managed to begin a sentence: "If you only knew-

But the men were already lifting the piano and taking it down the stairs. Zunilda looked at them from above and saw her own face reflected in the black top. It seemed to her to be at the bottom of a lake, struggling to get up to the air, to breathe.

"All right, let's go-"

Zunilda hurried down to check the walls to make sure that the men hadn't scratched the paint, just as she used to do when the house belonged to her mistress.

Through the open door, she saw three of the men loading the piano into a huge wagon. The fourth, the youngest of them, stayed by the doorway.

"And you, lady? Are you going to stay here or shall



we throw you in the wagon too?" he asked.

Zunilda remembered when she was younger, like him, and the delivery men used to say things like that. She looked at the young man and found him pleasing. His eyes were bright. He had a dark mustache and flashing white teeth. She knew at once that she could tell him what had happened to her.

"If you only knew---"

"Knew what, lady?"

"Everything that has happened to me."

"Tell me."

These words were like a key that opened up the floodgate within her. She suddenly felt that she was going to be able to express all those things that she had been keeping to herself since her mistress had spoken to her unspoken, vague things that seemed to be a heavy burden. But the other men were already calling the boy.

"I'm going to have to go."

"Then-" she felt as if the floodgate had closed again.

"But if you wish I'll come back to get your things for you, because you're not going to stay here, are you?"

"I have to leave the day after tomorrow."

"Say no more. I'll come to get you. I have a cart to carry your things in, and we can talk on the way."

"I'm going to go to a relative's for a few days until I find another place."

"We'll talk on the way to your relative's."

Yes, she would like that. To go with her things, talking on top of the cart, telling all her troubles.

"I have a yellow cart," the young man continued, as the others' shouts turned into insults. "You'll recognize it because it has a sign that says 'For Hire.' What time do you want me to come and get you?"

"Early, because my relative lives a long way away."

"I'll come early, then. About eight."

And, in a way, leaving did not seem so terrible now. She was closing the door when the boy stuck his foot in and said: "Could you advance me some money? I have to have the wheels greased and fix something on the axle."

She was tempted to give him her purse with all her pay in it. But then she remembered that her mistress had always cautioned her to be wary and she reconsidered.

"How much do you want?"

"Whatever you can give me."

She took out a bill and handed it to him.

"That's not very much. I think that the repairs will cost me more than that. And besides, we won't be able to talk if the wheels are squeaking."

Zunilda laughed, as she used to as a girl when her mistress sent her to buy milk at the barn and the workmen flattered her. And while she was laughing, she went on handing him bills one by one until she was left with the empty purse in her hands.

"O.K. I'll pick you up about eight."

Zunilda was coquettish enough not to close the door all the way this time. She left it open a crack so that she could see the wagon with the four men and the piano leave. The youngest, her friend, had his hands in his pockets and was whistling. At that moment the street lights came on, and as the light grew brighter she seemed to see herself rising slowly and smoothly from the bottom of the lake, until she came to the surface where she could drink a mouthful of fresh air.

The following afternoon the children came to say good-by. Valentina, who was as unfortunate as her husband, brought their children. While the two talked in the hall because there was no place to sit down, the children slid around in the living room and shouted from one end of it to the other, their voices resounding in a series of echoes. Valentina-"Tinita," as she used to call her, asked her to come and see her from time to time. She said that she lived in a house that was not very large, that her husband had also suffered from her father's business failure, and that, like the rest of the family, he had to cut down on expenses. Unlike her mother, Valentina said the words as if the situation were a joke, a sad joke, to be sure, but something that it was preferable to treat with a certain feigned indifference. Zunilda remembered when she had dressed her to go to her first dance; with the other servants, hidden behind the curtains by the large window at the top of the stairs, she had seen her go down, all in white, like a bride, almost as tall as the mistress and with the same proud step. Suddenly Valentina turned around, took a handkerchief from her handbag, and called her children to get ready to go.

The house seemed a little lonelier when they left. As Zunilda closed the door, she felt an urge to cry. But she held back the tears and consoled herself with the knowledge that the next morning her friend would come to get her and she could tell him all her troubles. Pouring them

out here, by herself, would be no comfort.

Little Jorge also rang the doorbell that afternoon. "I've come to say good-by," he said, "because I'm going to the country for just a couple of weeks. Until things get straightened out. You know I'm allergic to saddles. And I don't know how to go to bed early to get up early and enjoy the morning. The only way I enjoy it is in bed."

That was true; little Jorge never got up before lunch. She took his breakfast to him every day at this time, about eleven, and when she tried to open the shutters she was greeted with groans, insults, and even thrown shoes. Now the man looked at himself in one of the window panes, because all the mirrors were gone, straightened the knot in his tie, touched her on the cheek, pulled her hair and undid the knot in her apron, and left as he had come, like a breeze.

Zunilda thought she wouldn't have any more visitors that day, so she closed and locked the door. Carmen, the oldest child, could not come because she had been living for years in a convent where the mistress couldn't even see her except through a grating. Zunilda thought she had always lived behind bars. She had been aloof and quiet even as a child. She used to latch the door to the bathroom so that nobody could come in when she was using it.

The house was empty now, and from all the corners, the patio, and the halls came images and memories. This was Zunilda's world, her planet that had revolved around her. And again she asked herself what she would do when she lost it all. But the image of the young man with the yellow cart grew larger in the midst of the darkness that filled the rooms.

"Tomorrow we will talk on the way," she thought out loud. "Tomorrow I'm going to tell you all that's happened to me."

The mistress came to say good-by very early the next morning. At the door was the car, loaded with suitcases and packages, and Eduardo, who was calmly reading the financial news.

"I've come to see if everything is in order, Zunilda."
She made the rounds of the rooms with a steady step, opening and closing the doors, inspecting everything with a glance. Then she crossed the patio with her head erect, not looking back, and went out to the street. The house was suddenly empty. Something indefinable that had still floated through the air of the rooms followed her out to the car, and with that the walls seemed to lose their firmness. The house seemed to be a house of cards that would blow over with the slightest breeze.

"How are you leaving, Zunilda?"
"A cart is coming for me, Ma'am."

"Wouldn't you like us to drop you off?"

"No, I've already spoken to the man."

"As you wish. But we must leave the house locked because we have to take the key to the agent. It would be best for you to take your things out and wait on the steps. What time did the man with the cart say he would come?"

"At eight, Ma'am."

"It's already eight-thirty."

"He won't be long, then."

"Is he someone you can trust?"

"Completely, Ma'am."

She told the driver to help Zunilda take out her things. There, on the stone steps, they put her cardboard carton, the chair, and the bronze bedstead. When everything was ready, the mistress came up to Zunilda and gave her a few pats on the shoulder as a parting embrace.

"When we come back, you'll have to come and see me." And without another word, she got in the car. She didn't look at her again, and as Eduardo gave her a friendly wave and the noise of the motor filled the street, Zunilda wanted to ask: "You mean you don't need me any longer?"

But the car had disappeared.

Little by little Zunilda began to lose hope. The man was not coming now. He had deceived her. He had promised to come and get her in a yellow cart and now he left her waiting on the sidewalk, in the sun, while the hands of the clock on the church chased each other between those black numbers. He had robbed her, too, of all her wages; but she was more concerned about the fact that now she would not have anyone to talk to. That man had said that they would talk as they traveled through the streets, and the thought of this had kept her alive until now, had made her leave the house with a lighter heart, had helped her to let the mistress lock that door, her door. She had been able to bear it all well, because of the

man's promise.

But now she was losing her hopes. And as they disappeared, a knot formed again in her throat, tighter than before, and she felt a sort of fire behind her eyes, as if she were going to cry.

She knew that it was noon, because the cannon was fired on the hill. Zunilda jumped as if she had been wounded in the heart. Oh, my, the things that can happen to a person. And she let the hours slip by without knowing what to do, to whom to turn, or where to go.

At about three, a boy went by on the sidewalk in front. He was carrying a piece of chalk, and as he moved along he was making a line on the walls.

"Hev-

But the child didn't stop. He hardly looked at her, and resolutely went on his way, leaving the white line behind him.

Zunilda looked at the neighbors' houses. The doors were hermetically sealed and the shutters closed. The owners had undoubtedly also left for vacations. A few years ago, in the house on the left, there was a girl, a maid like herself, with whom she had been friendly. Bienvenida was her name. Every week they went out together, because she had asked her mistress to change her day off so that it would coincide with Bienvenida's. They went to the park or sometimes to the movies. They climbed some stairs to the balcony, sat on wooden benches and watched stories of men with wide-brimmed hats and pistols at their belts. Sometimes they sang and then the stories were much nicer. But one day Bienvenida appeared with her hair curled and told her that she was going to leave the house, because she wanted to be a nurse. She lost contact with her then, and afterward had no other friends. Little by little she began to skip her days off. She preferred to stay in the kitchen, listening to Antonia's conversation, which was so amusing, or to Herminia's ghost stories. Sometimes she went to see her relative, so far way; but she soon came back because Carmelita's temperament had been soured by the husband she ended up with, and she did nothing but complain.

She had so many things to say and no one to tell them to.

About mid-afternoon she heard the cry of a street vendor. The shout had the effect of waking her up suddenly, and she straightened up to look to left and right, to see where it came from. For a moment she thought that it might still be the man with the yellow cart. Perhaps the vehicle had broken down and he had just repaired it and was coming to get her now. But at the corner a man in a white apron came into view, pushing a little cart in the shape of a boat.

"Peanuts . . . hot peanuts---"

As he came closer, she saw that he was not a very old man, and that he had a heavy beard and wore an earthcolored hat on his head.

"Sir-.."

"How much do you want?"

"No-I don't want to buy any peanuts."

This statement didn't seem to surprise the man. In fact, nothing seemed to surprise him. It seemed as if his

hat had discolored his face, as if the earthen color had dribbled onto his features, his shoulders, all of him.

"I want to talk to somebody. Please, sir, I have so

many problems."

"We all have them," he answered, and he went on pushing his little boat, with its smokestack that was not pouring out any smoke. Zunilda tried to follow him, but he wouldn't stop. She called to him once or twice, and told him that the things she had to say were important.

When he was a short distance away, the vendor again

offered his wares:

"Peanuts . . . hot peanuts-"

His cry made her feel more lonely than before.

She remembered all the other cries—those of the vegetable man, the peach vendor, and the maté seller; and the soft music of the organ grinder in the afternoon. As soon as she heard him, the children would burst into the room where she was sewing buttons and drag her out to the street to see the organ grinder's little parrot, which, for a peso, would dip his beak like a hook into a box full of folded papers and give you your fortune. She did not know how to read, so it was the children who deciphered these messages. When little Jorge was the one who snatched her paper, she could be sure that he would exclaim: "It says here that you have a secret lover! That you're going to get married this summer!"

She never had a lover, in the summer or the winter either. But when she heard little Jorge's words, she smiled mysteriously and tried to grab that piece of paper with the lie that made her happy. Tinita, little Jorge, and little Eduardo would then dance around her, chase her down the street, and ask the organ grinder to play one tune after another. The musician accommodated them and stopped turning the crank only when the mistress appeared in the second floor balcony and said, as she threw him three pesos, "Come in, children. Come and do your chores. It's no time to be in the street."

And Zunilda could be sure that that night the mistress would come to the kitchen to reprimand her in front of the others, which humiliated her more than anything else.

She had so many things to tell. Now that she had lost all that, she felt the need for putting it into words and of

giving these words to someone, like a present.

Little by little the hours of heat had been going by. The sun no longer burned and a flat shadow was cast along-side her by the roof of the house next door. Zunilda took her cardboard carton and went to sit down in the shade, but it didn't help. Something seemed to break inside her, something that the heat had held together, and suddenly she felt overcome with slow sorrow and again felt like crying, without stopping the way she would have spoken if she could have found anyone to speak to. "Oh, my. The things that happen to a person. I feel as if I had been wounded and was alone in a street where no one goes by."

A car passed in the street. She could make out a man and a boy in the front seat. The boy was carrying a sailboat on his lap. But the car did not stop and Zunilda, who was about to call out, was left with her shout on her lips and her gesture frozen, like a bird hit by a bullet.

In the distance she saw something shining. At first she

thought that they were turning on the street lights; but soon she realized that the luminous dot was drawing closer, closer, and now seemed right next to her. Then she threw herself blindly in the middle of the street, ready to be hit, if necessary, to find someone with whom she could share her confusion.

She heard the screech of brakes, and some curses, and when she opened her eyes again she saw that a few steps away was a bicycle, and a boy looking at her with a mixture of anger and bewilderment. At first glance she thought he was a hunchback. But as she looked more closely she saw that it was some shiny round metal cases that the boy had tied to his back.

"Look out, lady. I almost knocked you down."

And without another word he remounted his bicycle. She blocked his way again, and this time the boy really didn't know how to react.

"What's the matter with you?"

"Haven't you seen a man with a yellow cart around here?"

"A cart?"

"A yellow one. With a sign that says 'For hire.'"

"No. I haven't seen it."

"He was supposed to come for me at eight."

"It's not eight yet."

"Eight in the morning."

"That was a long time ago."

"Yes, And I don't know what to do. Because, you see-"

And she was about to relate her story, from the beginning, omitting no details, from the time when she had come to that house until now, everything, everything that had happened to her in her life, when the boy interrupted her. "You're going to have to excuse me, lady. I don't have time to stay here. I'm carrying the reels of film and they're waiting for me in the theater."

"But you have to listen to me."

"I'm in a hurry."

And he put his foot on the pedal, turned his handlebar so that he wouldn't hit the old woman again, and went on his way. Zunilda managed to shout after him: "But somebody has to listen to me. Somebody——"

Once again she was alone and this time she began to cry disconsolately. She sat down by her bronze bedstead



again and gave vent to all the sobs that had built up, in her throat and her heart, that big pain within her. She wept uncontrollably, as she had never done before; much more than when little Eduardo had died and she had gone in to see him in the room where they had placed him with his head turned so that the wound in his temple would not be seen. She wept like a girl, as she did when she was young and they shouted that she didn't have a father. She wept until she had no more tears, and even then she continued sobbing, looking at the moon that rose behind the church steeple and sobbing, very much alone.

Suddenly she felt the weight of a hand on her shoulder and she looked up fearlessly. It was an old man with white hair and a dark face. Almost as old as she, or perhaps older. He was dressed in black, with a large rip in his trouser leg, and was wearing a cap with a visor. Through the tear Zunilda could see the color of his skin, a mother-of-pearl white, very close to the color of

the moon.

"What's the matter with you?"

When she heard that question, Zunilda thought she was going to cry again.

"Come on, why don't you tell me?"

She had known an old man like this in her childhood. She instantly remembered him sitting in a corner of the house by the fire in winter and in summer, chewing on something and saying very little. Someone had told her that he was her grandfather and that he didn't speak much because he was very close to death.

"Tell me."

The voice was coaxing and calm at the same time. Zunilda felt very comforted. She turned her face up to him and parted her lips to begin the story, but she couldn't say a word.

"Come, come along with me," the old man said, and the woman followed him without hesitation.

They walked down the street toward the corner. Zunilda did not even remember that she had left her cardboard carton, straw chair, and the bedstead, now colored silver by the moon, on the steps. She had forgotten everything; her only desire was to follow this man who had spoken to her. They turned left and came to a street, parallel to the first one, that she had not been down for years. When the children were small, the mistress didn't permit her to take them to school through that street, and the habit remained. Now, after such a long time, she was back on that forbidden street and saw only a line of parked cars all along the sidewalk, in front of a dimly lit entrance.

"Come here," the man said. "Let's sit in one of the cars. I'm the one who's watching them."

When he saw the woman looking at him questioningly he added: "No, nobody will come. They all stay until very late." At the same time he opened the door of one of the cars and made her get in and sit down in the back seat. He got in next to her. The seat was soft; to Zunilda it seemed as soft as the voice of her companion. She felt disarmed, powerless, and very contented. She would have liked to tell him but she couldn't find the words to express it.

A couple came out of the house and silently entered one of the cars. The motor started smoothly and the vehicle left noiselessly. Quiet surrounded them again, and as the calm returned, Zunilda began to tell all that she had been keeping inside herself for a lifetime.

She spoke haltingly at first, then more coherently, and little by little all the events, all the people in her life began to live before the old man's eyes. Now she felt that the knot was loosening, that the floodgate that had dammed up her sorrow until now was opening, and she let that sorrow pour out. As it turned into words, it vanished.

From time to time she stopped, looked at her companion, who had removed his cap, and asked: "Shall I go on? Do you want me to go on?"

"Tell me," he said. "Tell me. That's what I'm here for,

to listen."

As a matter of fact, that seemed to be his job: listening. And he did it silently, attentively, dedicatedly, with unusual tenderness. He gave forth a great feeling of security that engulfed Zunilda until it put her to sleep on the car seat. Then he took her hand softly and again begged her: "Tell me."

But the woman couldn't hear him. She was too tired, and if, for a moment, the sound of the words reached her, they were mingled with the voices of her dreams. Having said all that she had to say, she was overcome with a heavy sleep and a strange dream came to fill the vacuum left inside her after the sorrow had gone.

She dreamed that she was on a street with her cardboard carton, straw seat, and bronze bedstead, and that a yellow cart was coming down the street. It was a high cart, like a golden cage, covered with flags and full of the breeze. She signalled to the driver and with a single motion he stopped the horses and helped her get on. Zunilda felt two strong hands grab her by the shoulders and raise her in the air, above the earth, above the world, and place her on top of the cart, between the flags. Only then could she see the face of her companion, and she was surprised to discover that it was not the young man who had spoken to her but another, older, with white hair and a cap with a visor. But she didn't have time to think because the horses were moving again and the man at her side cracked the whip in the air like a firecracker, without even touching the animals' flanks, and coaxed her in a bright voice: "Tell me . . . tell me-" And she began to talk, or rather to sing, there in the air, as happy as a bird. She didn't even notice which way the driver turned the cart, taking her through other streets, other cities, and other worlds, until she was back at her own house, where she had always lived. The horses stopped abruptly, and from her height Zunilda saw the door open. She could make out the children playing in the patio-Tinita, little Jorge, and little Eduardo-chasing each other around the blossoming orange trees. But the mistress was the one who came out to greet her. It was her mistress, tall, majestic, with her pearl necklace and her measured look, who opened the door and said to her:

"Come in, Zunilda, come in. We've been waiting for

you. We need you." &>



Homeward bound braceros, obviously happy, may bring new ways to their home fields in Mexico

CARLOS GAMIO LEÓN

Some of the millions of Mexican braceros, or farm laborers, who have worked in the United States over the years have, on their return, stimulated social change in communities that seemed destined to be changeless. Very different social structures in the two countries are involved in both the difficulty and the possibility of change or development.

In populations in which one single culture is shared by the vast majority, as happens in the case of Western culture in various European countries and the United States, the economic factor can be sufficient by itself to raise the living conditions of the people widely and rapidly.

This does not happen in the case of heterogeneous populations in which cultures that differ in kind and in stage of evolution exist side by side, as you see in Mexico and various countries of Central and South America. There the culture of the truly native indigenous groups is composed almost exclusively of elements that have survived from pre-Columbian days, while in other groups only Western elements are present, and in still others the two kinds of traits are combined in varying proportions.

For example, in general, the rich and the poor in the United States satisfy their basic needs in the same or in very similar ways, the only difference being that the former choose for the purpose things of high quality and

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BRACEROS

high price, while the latter restrict themselves to more modest, cheaper items. The rich man may eat exquisite meals that are the work of master chefs while "ham and eggs" is the essential dish for the poor man, but both find their food needs reasonably satisfied. People with a lot of money may wear English woolens, ostentatious furs, and silk or linen underwear, while the poor dress essentially the same way but with less expensive clothes. There are sumptuous palaces and luxurious furniture for some, while the others content themselves with simple housing and just the essential furniture for modest living. Shining stars of the medical world will be consulted in the one case and unpretentious doctors in the other, but they all have the same basic scientific training and prescribe the same drugs. Now, if for any reason the purchasing power of one of the poor rises considerably, his food, housing, clothing, and so on will improve in quality and quantity automatically, until they reach the level of those of the rich, provided only that he spends his new income wisely.

In contrast, in Mexico there is a large sector of the population, including both native Indians and some individuals of mixed culture, among whom the economic factor does not suffice to raise the standard of living. That this is so is seen in the case of many individuals

and families of both these types in many towns around the country who can be considered well-to-do and even rich in their own communities, but who nevertheless live in essentially the same way as their poor neighbors. Their diet is based on tortillas, chili, and beans; they live, as their ancestors did centuries ago, in unhealthful huts or adobe rooms, sleep on the dirt floor, and have no furniture at all or only the most primitive sort; the men wear shirts and trousers of coarse cotton cloth and sandals, while the costume of the women, especially the Indian women, is somewhat more elaborate, for they have maintained artistic traditional designs; their sicknesses are treated by sorcerers or healers who use magic rites and medicinal concoctions that belong in another age: they do not deposit their money in a bank but keep it in some secret hiding place; many of their ancient agricultural and craft techniques are grossly inadequate.

If you ask these people why they go on in such a backward way when they have the economic means to improve all aspects of their living, they are surprised, for they consider what they are doing perfectly natural and normal.

In turn, educated city people who are intolerant and unaware of the background of these social problems criticize this conduct harshly and unconditionally, saying it is because the people are Indians or "half-Indians" and therefore irredeemable. They say these people's miserable existence will never change no matter how much

vironment, in which poor families and individuals, whose way of existence evolves very, very slowly, make up the majority.

You can see a fine example of this right in Xochimilco, which is a district of the capital. There a number of Indian farmers who get a good income from the flowers and crops they grow in the floating gardens they own, in addition to what they earn taking people for canoe rides, live under almost the same conditions as those who have neither land nor money.

The solution to this problem can only be found by way of education, but not just the kind that consists in teaching elementary ideas and reading and writing; rather, an education that teaches people to live better, that demonstrates objectively to them that the change in ideas and customs will carry with it immediate benefits, that will train them so that they will know how to spend their money more wisely and meet their needs better.

At first glance it seems very easy to educate someone in this way, but it isn't, or at any rate there have been only a few cases in which people have done it successfully in such situations. Too often the teachers act brusquely, trying to impose the new ways of living all at once while unreservedly condemning and ridiculing the ways they want to replace, which naturally produces hostile reactions.

One of the most effective systems for achieving the end that is sought is to transport those who are to be edu-

BRING HOME NEW WAYS

anyone tries to change it.

Both points of view are fatalistic and misguided, because this situation can be altered for the better. In the first place, one must bear in mind that it is the product of the same force of tradition that weighs just as heavily on all the peoples of the world, making them maintain and prefer the ancestral cultural survivals they inherited and consider them in no way inferior to the elements of modern civilization that they are not accustomed to.

To this must be added the strong influence of the en-

Juan González brought his whole family when Texas farmer Frank Ferrer (standing in center) gave him a job



cated from the inferior environment in which they live to another that is at a higher stage of development.

Now the workers—poor and well-to-do, Indians and mestizos—who return to Mexico after having lived four, five, or more years in the United States provide the most interesting example one could cite in this connection. It is true that in various regions of the United States they are the embittered victims of racial, cultural, and economic discrimination, but on the other hand they improve themselves enormously without thereby losing their essential

Mexican workers at Lubbock, Texas, learn irrigation techniques through technical assistance programs of U.S. organizations



characteristics as Mexicans. In that new environment they are obliged, whether they want to or not, to change their material lives for the better. Their food includes meat, milk, bread, as well as tortillas when they can get them. They replace their sandals with shoes, and on holidays many of them wear wool suits. They have beds instead of mats to sleep on, plus furniture, no matter how simple, and in many cases running water, toilet, radio, and other conveniences. They go to the doctor and consume modern medicines. They learn to plant, cultivate, and harvest with modern techniques, and become familiar with various industries and the use of efficient tools and machinery. Being so far from home makes them stick close together, and a large number of newspapers are published in Spanish to discuss and deal with their problems.

What they can learn about farming methods, particularly, can be of tremendous benefit to Mexico. Usually the Mexican from a community farm or ejido works a small plot with very little resources: his tools are primitive, he has no animals, or scrawny ones, because his plot will not provide more than he needs to keep his family. Therefore, in place of the old and impractical system of haphazard extensive cultivation, which was profitable only on the vast estates before they were broken up into many small parcels, he needs to practice the kind of intensive farming he can see in the United States: crop selection according to soil conditions and value of product, application of fertilizer, efficient tools and cultivation methods, careful use of water or dry cultivation, and pest control. Because of the measures the Mexican Government has taken, particularly in the administrations of President Lázaro Cárdenas and the present President López Mateos, to improve the position of the farm workers, we can expect a considerable biological increase in their numbers in the future, which will keep new parcels of land to a small size and require efficient, intensive cultivation. Incidentally, one of the areas that has achieved remarkable productivity is one I already mentioned in connection with slowness of change in living habits: Xochimilco.

Braceros cross international bridge at Laredo, bound for work on U.S. farms. Thousands come north every summer under bilateral agreement



Families and individuals who have been repatriated after a considerable period in the United States, then, are the best kind of teachers to show their backward relatives and neighbors how to live better, when they can establish themselves in groups that remain united by the ties that joined them abroad. The unexpected way that various sections of the Laguna region and of the lower Rio Grande Valley (Río Bravo) flourished because of the intensive activities of groups of repatriated braceros is a fine example.

But when these people come back singly to their villages, they slip backward in their evolution under the impact of the environment. In this connection I remember a Mexican farmer whom I had met in the United States on a research trip. There he showed all the signs of progress I have mentioned, so I was surprised later to find him plowing a field in Mexico, wearing short trousers and sandals, eating chili, tortillas, and beans, and living in a little hut scarcely different from the rest, even though he had amassed some savings in the United States. He explained that his parents and almost all the neighbors lived this way, so he had returned to the old customs because he did not enjoy being different from the others, who ridiculed his new way of doing things, especially when they called him pocho because he chattered in English. Nevertheless, he did exert a useful influence on farming methods, for some of the people imitated his innovations. If instead of one man returning there had been a hundred with their families, the progress would have been something to see.

Of course, some individuals are overwhelmed by the environment to which they return and spend all their savings paying off debts, or for the celebration of the town's saint's day, or in disillusioned drinking after failing to find their families. Then they may work at anything and hope to save enough to go try again. But, in addition to those who are running their own farms, many have set up businesses. One man I know who has been in many lines of work after starting on a farm before the Mexican Revolution has now saved enough from farming rented lands in California to organize the Mexican Colonizing Center No. 1 of Laguna and Simons, California, which intends to settle a large area on the hacienda San Cristóbal in Acámbaro, Guanajuato.

At present we cannot expect many men with sufficient experience to have a strong educational effect to be coming back to Mexico, because of the U.S. agricultural and industrial demands for them and hundreds of thousands of other, temporary, workers. The seasonal migratory workers, whether those who go on the official contract basis or "wetbacks" who may still make it on their own, are not qualified for the educational role, because the short periods they spend there and the all-absorbing and usually simple, endlessly repeated tasks they do there prevent them from gaining the cultural advantages that several years of residence can give.

Therefore, if we want to see this sector of the Mexican population make progress, we must see to it that the economic factor is backed up by the others needed to give it the desired effect in this society.

SOCIAL SECURITY IN LATIN AMERICA TODAY

TO ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT

BERYL FRANK

Social Security programs have great potentialities for maintaining purchasing power among, large masses of the people, and in many countries constitute the largest single source of savings available for investment. In Latin America such programs—including old-age insurance, health and accident insurance, and family allowances—have been in force for decades in many of the countries, but their scope is generally quite limited.

Only in Argentina, Chile, and Uruguay is more than 25 per cent of the economically active population covered by social security. In five countries, less than 10 per cent of

this segment of the population is covered.

Some of the groups in greatest need of social insurance protection are often not covered: agricultural workers, temporary and piece workers, home workers, domestic servants, and the self-employed. The major part of the Latin American labor force is employed in agriculture, and much thought has been given to the desirability of extending social insurance coverage to the rural sector. However, the dispersion of the population, the difficulties of transportation, the lack of medical facilities and personnel, and other factors make it difficult to apply traditional programs to these areas. Another problem is the fact that farm workers are still largely paid in kind, and it is often difficult to distinguish clearly between employees and employers. In several countries protection for low-income families in rural areas is provided through welfare rather than insurance techniques. An attempt to offer rural workers the same social security programs now established in the cities would prove costly beyond the present or prospective fiscal capabilities of the governments, and beyond the possibility of support out of farm income.

Turning to urban workers, in many countries coverage is limited to transport, industrial, and commercial workers in medium and large establishments. Many of the programs are based on experience in Europe, where social insurance grew out of mutual funds organized along craft lines: Such division detracts from the unity and cohesion of a country's social insurance program and reduces the efficiency of its operation. Also, inclusion of certain groups within social insurance systems has been closely tied to their organizational and political strength rather than their economic need. This has resulted in extensive

programs in favor of public employees, bank employees, railroad workers, white collar workers, and others, sometimes with separate funds and accounts for each group. Thus, benefits vary from group to group and from area to area within the same country, affecting the direction and intensity of population movements.

One of the most serious effects of existing limited coverage is that there is a transfer of income—resulting from the contributions of employers and governments—from the entire population to relatively small groups in selected occupations or geographical areas. It would seem desirable to extend coverage to a greater number of people before increasing the benefits of those groups

already covered.

Cash benefits and medical services during sickness and maternity are the aspects of social security programs in Latin America that have, in general, been accorded greatest emphasis. An OAS-sponsored meeting of social insurance experts in 1959 pointed out the urgent need for developing systems of medical care that will avoid a bureaucratic and mass approach to sick persons and at the same time be on a sound economic basis. The meeting also recommended the elimination of the duplication and overlapping that result from the simultaneous operation of competing medical systems. Social insurance institutions' expenses in the field of curative medicine will continue to be disproportionately high unless they begin to cooperate more closely with campaigns in the preventive medicine field that are working to eliminate many of the endemic diseases that attack the population and lower productivity. There is little point to setting up medical stations in rural areas to treat people suffering from intestinal diseases when the water they have to drink is still contaminated.

Old-age insurance is by far the most important aspect of social insurance in a few of the countries, such as Argentina and Uruguay. In others, old-age pensions are being paid to relatively few persons because of the long periods of employment required for eligibility, or old-age insurance has not yet been put into effect. More and more money is needed to support these programs, so that pensioners' purchasing power is not drastically curtailed by inflation and so that payments can extend over a greater number of years to keep pace with constantly increasing life expectancy.

The longer life expectancy today also means an increase in the number of years that one may expect to be gainfully employed. Adding to the pension rolls those

Beryl Frank of the PAU Social Security Unit served for twelve years in the U.S. Social Security Administration. This article is adapted from a secretariat document to be presented for consideration at the Eleventh Inter-American Conference in Quito, Ecuador. skilled, experienced workers who are still in complete possession of their mental and physical capacities means the assumption of a burden that even the strongest economy could not bear indefinitely. The logical thing to do would be to maintain the existing retirement age—which admittedly is already unusually low in many countries—and possibly raise it. There has been a tendency, however, to pay little attention to the demographic factors, and, instead, to lower the retirement age progressively, often for purely political reasons, without giving sufficient thought to the consequences. If the people in certain jobs can retire at fifty-five, fifty, or even earlier, those in other jobs will seek the same privilege, and an extension of this early retirement is bound to have a braking effect on

the University of Chile's Institute of Economics showed that the Chilean national product would have to grow twice as rapidly as it has been doing if the ratio of pension program cost to national product is not to be much higher in 1970 than it is now.

We believe that additional national studies would show

the desirability of considerably reducing the scope of oldage insurance and of expanding health, education, and

economic development. A study by Joseph Grunwald of

welfare services for those in the lower age groups. Several countries in Latin America with a combined population of more than one hundred million-Argentina, Bolivia, Brazil, Chile, Colombia, and Uruguay-have adopted some system of family allowances, though within modest limits, and other countries are considering their adoption. Historically, this type of program was set up in private industries in France and Belgium to aid employees with large families. Later the allowances were transformed into public social programs. New Zealand passed the first law on family allowances in 1926 and similar measures are on the books now in more than twenty-five countries. The allowances were originally designed not only to aid persons with already large family responsibilities, but also to promote bigger families, as in France, which needed to recover from its great human losses in World War I.

Latin America's population growth rate is now the highest of any major region of the world, so there is no reason for giving workers an incentive to have larger families there. But at the same time we must not overlook the hardship faced by workers with large families, particularly in view of the current widespread inflation in many countries. Before family allowance programs are extended, or adopted by other countries, closer study should be given to their effect on the economy and on the size of the population, and to some of the administrative difficulties related to payment and control. On the basis of the experience of some European countries, it is widely acknowledged that it would be inadvisable for family allowance payments to become so sizable compared with other forms of remuneration such as wages that an individual's income bears little relation to his productivity and efficiency.

As of now Chile and Uruguay are the only Latin American countries with systems of periodic payments to help support workers who have lost their jobs. Urgently

TABLE 1

INCOME OF SOCIAL INSURANCE INSTITUTIONS IN SOME AMERICAN COUNTRIES

PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION BY SOURCE, 1959

| Country | Workers | Employers | Government | Investments and others |
|-----------------------|---------|-----------|------------|---------------------------|
| Argentina | 39.8 | 49.8 | 0.1 | 10.3 |
| Bolivia | 16.7 | 56.9 | 23.4 | 3.0 |
| Brazil | 27.8 | 26.0 | 25.2 | 21.0 |
| Chile ¹ | 24.1 | 47.4 | 12.6 | 15.9 |
| Colombia ² | 28.1 | 58.7 | 7.4 | 5.8 |
| Costa Rica | 33.8 | 35.9 | 18.2 | 12.1 |
| Dominican Rep. | 24.7 | 49.7 | 11.8 | 14.1 |
| Ecuador ² | 29.7 | 35.8 | 1.7 | 32.8 |
| El Salvador | 25.0 | 48.9 | 24.9 | 1.2 |
| Guatemala | 30.3 | 68.0 | - | 1.7 |
| Mexico | 24.9 | 49.7 | 17.7 | 7.6 |
| Nicaragua | 16.0 | 50.0 | 31.8 | 2.2 |
| Panama | 35.4 | 33.6 | 6.9 | 24.1 |
| Paraguay ² | 29.3 | 53.5 | 7.4 | 9.8 |
| Peru ² | 28.5 | 54.9 | 14.4 | 2.2 |
| Uruguay | 27.6 | 34.2 | 0.8 | 37.4 |
| Venezuela | 29.3 | 48.4 | 18.2 | 4.1 |
| | | | | |

Sources: Data directly from the social insurance institutions; for Chile, El Sistema de Previsión Social Chileno, Informe de la Misión Klein y Saks, Santiago de Chile, 1958, p. 46; for Ecuador, Bolein del Banco Central del Ecuador, Quito, Aña XXXIII, Nos. 386-387, p. 195. ¹ The sum of the 1959 income of the Servicio de Seguro Social and the 1956 income of the other institutions. ² Figures for 1958.

needed are effective cooperation between these unemployment compensation systems and a system of employment services to assist the worker in finding new employment. In most of the countries employers are required to give lump-sum indemnizations, such as one month's pay for each year's work, when a worker loses his job. This has its limitations, especially if the individual remains unemployed for an extended period, but it would be inconceivable to pay him periodic allotments unless there are employment services to find a new job for him.

Replacing individual employer responsibility for aiding the unemployed with a system of collective responsibility, through unemployment insurance or some related mechanism, seems an urgent task for Latin America. Unemployment insurance, employment services, and vocational training are all necessary, but the latter would seem to be the first step. Only as programs to raise the technical abilities of the labor force begin to take effect can one think of the establishment on a large scale of systems of employment services and finally of setting up unemployment insurance systems.

Social legislation to protect the labor force against the consequences of work injuries and occupational diseases has generally been the forerunner in the development of social security in Latin America. The systems established for these purposes have continued in many instances to function entirely separate from the social security programs established later. Their benefits are less adequate both quantitatively and qualitatively, and are ordinarily based on now obsolete concepts of workmen's compensation. Often the efficiency of their administration leaves

much to be desired.

In some countries insurance against work-connected accidents and diseases seems to be slightly neglected. Existing legislation varies widely as to whether these risks are covered by private or social insurance, the range of persons protected, the type and level of benefits, and the extent that occupational risk and other special circumstances are taken into account when fixing the rates. It would be worthwhile to devote attention to comparative analytical studies on this type of insurance and the many ways in which it is administered.

The cost of social insurance programs in almost all of the Latin American countries is paid by three parties: workers, employers, and the government. Only in the case of insurance against work accidents and unemployment is the financing usually the exclusive responsibility of the employers. The exact amount of the contributions by the three parties differs somewhat depending upon the type of risk insured, but the data shown in Table 1 seem to indicate that the employers often contribute about 50 per cent, with the workers and the government sharing a good part of the other half in more or less equal amounts, apart from the contributions of investment income and other sources of revenue that are quite important in some cases.

However, the distribution shown is more apparent than real because each of the groups, and especially the employers and the government, can pass on all or part of its share to others, the government through its power to tax or to inflate the currency, and the employer by raising the price of his product. The workers, in turn, try to maintain the level of their take-home pay by having the employer increase their salaries by the amount of the con-

tribution they are required to make.

Governments frequently fail to meet their obligations. They are required to contribute both as the government and, with regard to public employees, as an employer. Their reluctance to pay in the first capacity is sometimes explained by the fact that, in addition to contributing frequently to budgetary deficits, this expenditure is one over which they have little or no effective control. This is especially true where the government's contribution is fixed by law as a percentage of wages or salaries of the private sector. It automatically goes up when these increase, but tax revenues do not necessarily follow suit-at least not immediately and in the same proportion. Another factor bearing on the government's contribution is the source of its funds. The incidence of tax systems in Latin America is generally regressive because they are not based primarily on ability to pay. A large part of government revenues comes from customs duties; the producers or merchants normally pass this tax burden on through price increases often paid by those least able to afford them.

Some systems levy contributions only on workers earning up to a certain amount, with the result that the contributors and beneficiaries are in the same low-income group. A redistribution of income from higher- to lowerpaid groups in the economy could be achieved better by including workers regardless of the amount of their salaries, assessing contributions only on earnings up to a fixed amount, or by doing away entirely with the upper limit on salaries. The limitations on coverage discussed above greatly diminish the effectiveness of social insurance as a redistributing mechanism in the economies of Latin America.

In theory, there should also be a redistribution of income from those with only an occasional attachment to the labor market to those who depend entirely upon wages to support themselves. But sometimes contributors are permitted to withdraw the sums they have paid in, creating the illusion that social insurance is some type of bank where one can withdraw his savings at any time. Retaining within the system the payments of occasional contributors is one way of insuring that adequate benefits will be available to those who need them. In Latin America, the desirable income transfer function supposedly exercised by social insurance has often been cited as a justification for the substantial contributions involved, but there is still a large gap between theory and practice in this, and it seems doubtful whether this objective is even partially

Collection is a serious problem in Latin American social insurance systems. It is all very well to pass laws that require large contributions, but unless these have a reasonable relation to ability to collect them, the workers will be unable to get the benefits that were promised and they will justly feel that they have been defrauded. Serious delays in the collection of employers' contributions. coupled with the difficult economic situation existing in many countries, the failure of governments to pay their contributions, and the reduction of income from many sources of investments, have greatly worsened the financial position of many social insurance institutions in Latin America. In order to ensure the continuance of these programs, it is imperative that their financial operations be submitted to careful scrutiny by actuaries and other experts, and that purely political considerations be avoided, insofar as possible, in guiding their future action.

In an attempt to adjust pension benefits to keep pace with rising prices, some countries have resorted to automatic readjustments, which invariably aggravate the inflation. Pension adjustment should be closely related to the entire policy regarding establishment of reserves and the

Medical and hospitalization programs are major items in Latin American social insurance programs. Employees' Hospital in Lima



manner in which they are invested. Workers understandably maintain a constant pressure to increase their benefits. Governments, on the other hand, often find themselves in the politically precarious position of having to hold the line on these expenditures as part of their anti-inflationary efforts.

As to financing, social insurance programs can be divided into two general groups. The first includes the short-term risks, such as illness, which are financed on a pay-as-you go basis. Under this system, expenditures in any given year are expected to be roughly equal to income, with some reserve against unforeseen events that may place an unexpected burden on the system. Under the other system, often used to cover long-term risks such as disability, old age, and death, sums collected are allowed to accumulate, they are invested, and the interest is used to pay the cost of benefits in the future. There is usually a long period during which receipts will greatly exceed expenditures because of the rather long qualifying periods for entitlement to pensions.

Classic statements of policy regarding the theory of investing social insurance reserves require that they conform to the following criteria: safety, production of income, liquidity, social advantages (such as those produced by schools, hospitals, or public housing, for example), and economic utility. In practice, these factors frequently result in conflicts of interest. The employees who contribute to the system sometimes feel that the reserves should constitute a type of bank where they can borrow money to construct or buy homes or to meet extraordinary personal expenses. But loans on terms favorable enough to permit the poorer workers to acquire houses unfortunately do not build up the reserve enough so that the social insurance institution will be able to pay the benefits that it will be called upon to pay in the future.

Investment of the funds in productive enterprises has a long-term tendency to increase the amount of goods and services available for purchase, while the placing of more funds in the hands of consumers to finance purchases without increasing the amount of goods and services available has the effect of raising prices and lowering the purchasing power of loans. Thus, loans to beneficiaries as well as those to finance non-productive expenditures of public authorities may be largely self-defeating.

One of the principal problems in the administration of these reserves is how to maintain their real value during inflation. In such circumstances the investments that give the highest returns may not be suitable for public social insurance institutions, which must limit themselves to enterprises that often pay a rate of return less than the rate of increase in prices. The total income from investments very seldom equals the actuarial estimates. This is a real problem that may indeed be insoluble during periods of very strong inflation and may therefore constitute a powerful argument against the creation of reserve systems. In fact, inflation has had such serious effects on the real value of the reserves of many of the social insurance institutions in Latin America that there is now a general tendency to shift to pay-as-you-go financing or to some system between the two extreme formulas. However, such

changes create a series of new problems involving the legal and actuarial foundations of social insurance.

The need for capital in Latin America is evident and it is vital that social insurance reserves be invested in both public and private projects that deserve first priority in terms not only of providing both income and employment to the population but also of contributing in the most effective way to the expansion of national economies.

An obstacle to labor migration stems from the fact that reciprocal agreements permitting a worker to take his accumulated social security rights with him are difficult to obtain. Despite many parallels in the general orientation of social security programs and in basic administrative problems in Latin America, there are different levels of development. Some systems are of recent origin while others have operated for thirty years or more and their integration may not be an easy matter. The multiplicity of organizations administering such programs in many Latin American countries is another complicating factor.

One of the great fears that some countries have about entering into common-market agreements is that their costs of production, which necessarily include the social insurance charges, are so high that without the benefit of protective tariffs they might find themselves priced out of the market by producers in other countries. A comparative study of all the social charges borne by producers in Latin American countries will have to be made as a very first step in ascertaining to what extent this fear is valid. A common market for the entire Latin American area is not an immediate prospect, but groups of countries are already taking action in this direction. In this case, as in many others discussed here, the time to reflect, to analyze, and to study is before irreversible steps are taken.

In summary, workmen's compensation, health programs, and employment services, for example, can effectively contribute to the economic growth that the Latin American countries demand. But most of them must strive to correct the features in their social insurance systems that are producing adverse economic results: premature retirement, the payment of large lump sums as indemnization for years of service, the payment of excessively generous retirement or sickness benefits that are practically equal to wages, and the use of reserve funds for the granting of personal loans for consumption. All these work against the best interests of the economy and of the citizens.

All too often social security has been viewed as isolated from other economic and social problems; by its very nature it is, in fact, inextricably tied to general economic and social conditions. Thus, a decline in wage levels also means a decline in the income that a social insurance institution has at its disposal to pay benefits and provide services.

There is no real contradiction between economic development and social security so long as the degree of social security a country has is reasonably related to what the economy can afford. If social security uses its funds and orients its services to promote economic development this will in turn provide the key to the future expansion of social security in Latin America.



Graduate students from United States, Japan, Spain, Brazil, and the Netherlands in University of Florida Brazilian culture seminar

THE UNIVERSITY OF FLORIDA

AS A CENTER FOR LATIN AMERICAN STUDIES

T. LYNN SMITH

THE UNIVERSITY OF FLORIDA is widely known in the United States and abroad as a major center for Latin American studies, and its role in this respect promises to become even greater in the years immediately ahead. Those in positions of responsibility at the University and in the state appreciate the importance of the work that is being done and the need for even greater efforts in the future

Naturally Florida's geographical position, historical background, and cultural affinities presented her colleges and universities with unique opportunities in all that has to do with Latin America. The prominence that this state university has achieved in this field, however, is due primarily to the dedicated efforts of dozens of the members of its faculty who teach and do research in many of its schools and colleges. For decades these men and women, frequently at the cost of considerable personal sacrifice, have sought to develop a better understanding of Latin American countries, cultures, peoples, and problems.

Important places are now occupied in the educational, economic, governmental, and cultural life of their homelands by Latin American atudents who received their training at the University, which is located at Gainesville. Annually almost two hundred students from all parts of Latin America matriculate at the University in courses leading to the B.A., B.S., M.A., M.S., and Ph.D. degrees.

T. LYNN SMITH, graduate research professor of sociology at the University of Florida, has served as visiting professor in Mexico, Brazil, and Chile, and has lectured in almost all of the other Latin American countries. Largely in recognition of his book Brazil: People and Institutions, he received homorary doctorates from the University of Brazil and the University of São Paulo, and the Crusoiro do Sul decoration from the Brazilian Government.

The largest number of Latin Americans enrolling as undergraduates go to the College of Agriculture, whereas Latin American graduate students are widely spread throughout all schools and colleges.

Undoubtedly Florida's geographical position and climatic conditions are important in making the University of Florida a favorite of Latin American students who seek a university education in the United States. Especially in agriculture, engineering, architecture, and communications, the theoretical and applied knowledge that is essential for realistic programs of training for Florida students is also readily applicable to the problems with which Latin Americans with university degrees must deal in their own countries. The fact that many of the professors who teach courses in these areas have gained a part of their professional experience in Latin American helps greatly to reduce the gap that frequently exists between theoretical knowledge and the practical knowledge the Latin Americans need.

Latin American students constantly go for counsel and advice on academic and personal matters to their instructors, especially those in their major departments. These informal arrangements are complemented by the offices the University has established to assist students from Latin America and other parts of the world.

All of the formalities connected with admission of students from outside the United States are handled through the Office of the Advisor to Foreign Students, assisted, in the case of Latin Americans who come to study agriculture, by a special Advisor to Latin American Students of Agriculture. The office was established for the specific purpose of assisting students from other lands to receive the information and forms they need in complying with the complexities of admission. Its director also has major responsibility for orienting and counseling students from Latin America, although, especially in the case of graduate students, the chairmen of their advisory committees confer with them regularly. The position of special advisor for Latin American agriculture students was established in 1952, with assistance from the Rockefeller Foundation.

Many universities throughout the United States have developed excellent undergraduate and graduate courses devoted to the history and geography of the Latin American countries, and a few universities also have departments that offer courses of Latin American content in anthropology, economics, political science, and sociology. However, very few institutions have a strong array of course offerings in all that has to do with the history. geography, economy, society, and culture of the twenty independent countries that are known collectively as Latin America. At the University of Florida, in all of the respective departments the courses devoted to Latin American matters are basic portions of the curricula available to all students. About thirty-five members of the faculty now devote primary attention to courses on Latin American subjects. As a result, an undergraduate student who majors within the full range of anthropology, economics, geography, history, political science, or sociology may use a substantial number of credits in Latin American studies to help fulfill the requirements for his degree; or, if he so desires, the undergraduate may combine courses from several departments and take a major in the field of Latin American Studies per se.

Even more distinctive, however, are the facilities available to the graduate students (including men and women from the United States and Canada, the Latin American countries, Europe, Australia, New Zealand, and Asia) who desire to concentrate upon Latin America as they train for careers in business or in governmental service, or for professional positions as anthropologists, economists, geographers, historians, political scientists, or sociologists. Such graduate students have available two avenues leading to the M.A. and Ph.D. degrees in their chosen specialty. A graduate student may elect to register in the School of Inter-American Studies and undertake to complete the courses and prepare a thesis that will entitle him to receive the degree of Master of Arts in Latin American Area Studies, with a concentration in his own field. As is the case with all Master's degrees, the minimum time required for such a program is one full academic year of graduate work. In a similar manner the student may proceed, through a minimum of three full academic years of graduate work, to fulfill the requirements for the Ph.D. degree in Latin American Area Studies, with a concentration in any of the above fields except anthropology.

The second way in which a graduate student at the University of Florida may concentrate upon the study of Latin America is within the department of his selected discipline. In this case he enrolls as a graduate student in the College of Arts and Sciences and pursues a set of courses and a thesis project, all featuring Latin American content, leading to the degree of M.A. in anthropology, or geography, or history, or political science, or sociology. In a minimum of three years he may go on to the Ph.D. degree in any of these disciplines except anthropology. If his interest is in economics, the procedure is similar, but in this event he registers in the College of Business Administration. Along with the courses in theory and method that are required of all who prepare themselves professionally in one of these fields, Latin American content courses are integral parts of both the major and the minor fields. Furthermore, the research required in connection with the preparation of the Master's thesis or the doctoral dissertation, along with the functional knowledge of Spanish or Portuguese that is required.



Ph.D. candidates from the United States and Brazil work together on joint research project



University of Panama Rector Jaime de la Guardia addresses session of annual Conference on the Caribbean

help round out a course of training that prepares the successful candidates for professional work in their selected disciplines. Indeed, the objective is to train the candidate thoroughly in one of the indicated fields and, at the same time, to enable him to equip himself for professional work in Latin America or to fill teaching, research, or administrative positions in universities and governmental positions in the United States or with international agencies. That numerous graduate students from Latin America, and some from Asia, Europe, Australia, and New Zealand, are closely associated with those from the United States and Canada in these programs of graduate study is one of the most rewarding aspects of the training. We often assign a joint research project to two students, one of them a Latin American. Soon each realizes that he needs the special knowledge of the other, and discovers for himself the value of international intellectual collaboration.

The School of Inter-American Studies was established by the University in 1950, to help coordinate the graduate work in Latin American studies. The School succeeded and built upon foundations laid by the Institute of Inter-American Affairs, which was organized in 1930. Its activities are administered by a director and an assistant director. The School itself has no teaching faculty but draws upon various departments for the courses involved in the area studies curricula which it administers.

The School of Inter-American Studies also plans and conducts the Annual Conference on the Caribbean, sponsors visits and lectures by scholars from Latin America and other parts of the world, administers graduate assistantships for students working in the field of Latin American studies, and edits and publishes the proceedings of the Caribbean Conference (in book form), a series of Latin American monographs, the Journal of Latin American Studies, and a biographical series entitled Grandes Figuras de América. The annual Conference on the Caribbean deserves special emphasis, because it has become a major gathering in which each year scholars, government officials, and businessmen from the United States meet with their fellows from the Caribbean area. The reports of these conferences become invaluable reference works for all those interested in the Caribbean area.

The building up of the collections that are essential to the scholarly activities of those interested in Latin American studies long has been a major interest of those in charge of the development of the University of Florida Libraries. As a result, the holdings of the P. K. Yonge Library of Florida History, which perforce the University must attempt to make definitive in all that has to do with Florida's history under five flags, have gained an enviable reputation among research scholars throughout the nation. In large measure the excellence of this collection is due to the dedicated life of effort—fortunately a long one—of Julian P. Yonge, son of the man for whom the library is named.

To complement their holdings of Floridiana, broadly interpreted, for decades the University of Florida Libraries have concentrated funds and efforts on strengthening their collections in everything having to do with the Caribbean area. In this the Libraries have had substantial support from the Rockefeller Foundation.

During the last twenty years the departments of the University that offer courses dealing with Latin America have dedicated substantial portions of the funds annually allocated to them to developing highly selected collections of the works pertaining to all of Latin America, and the professors in charge of the various courses have spent much time on this. The books secured are those that are most useful for reference purposes in the courses of instruction and those most needed by members of the staff and student body for research on Latin American topics. In addition, many of the professors have assembled enviable private reference collections in their respective disciplines.

For about fifteen years the Board of Managers of the University of Florida Press has followed the policy of allocating 40 per cent of its publication quota to manuscripts dealing with Latin American subjects. As a result a substantial list of books and monographs dealing with the area, and ranging all the way from agriculture and art to zoological topics, has been published. This list includes, of course, the Handbook of Latin American Studies, edited in the Hispanic Foundation of the Library of Congress, published annually by the University since 1948; the Caribbean Conference Series, which began in 1950; and the series Latin American Monographs, established in 1957. But it also includes such titles as The Rainforests of Golfo Dulce, by Paul H. Allen; Are We Good Neighbors?—Three Decades of Inter-American Re-

Florida Ph.D. Orlando Fals Borda (standing behind priest) watches Minister of Education cut ribbon at dedication of Colombian rural school built by local residents under Fals Borda's guidance



lations, 1930-1960, by Donald M. Dozer; High Jungles and Low, by Archie Carr; Peasant Society in the Colombian Andes, by Orlando Fals Borda; Man and Land in Peru, by Thomas R. Ford; Bartolomé de las Casas, Historian, by Lewis Hanke; From Community to Metropolis: A Biography of São Paulo, Brazil, by Richard M. Morse; Search for a Latin American Policy, by Thomas W. Palmer, Jr.; Land Reform and Democracy, by Clarence Senior; and Gardens of the Antilles, by John V. Watkins.

The social scientists who are responsible for the courses dealing with Latin America in the various departments, along with their colleagues in the natural sciences who work extensively in Latin America, are among those on the faculty of the University of Florida who publish most frequently. Many of them are constantly engaged on one or more projects that take them to Latin American countries to gather materials for study and analysis. From their pens comes a constant flow of manuscripts for publication as articles in the professional journals, as chapters in various compendia, as monographs, and as booklength studies. In addition, not a few of the M.A. theses and the Ph.D. dissertations that they direct find their way into print. A few substantial titles that have been added to the bibliography on Latin America by graduate students are Straddling of the Isthmus of Tehuantepec, by Edward B. Glick, Latin American Monographs, No. 6 (Gainesville: University of Florida Press, 1958); The Acculturation of the Japanese Immigrants in Brazil, Yujio Fujii and T. Lynn Smith, Latin American Monographs, No. 8 (Gainesville: University of Florida Press, 1959); Acción Democrática of Venezuela: Its Origin and Development, by Stanley J. Serxner, Latin American Monographs, No. 9 (Gainesville: University of Florida Press, 1959); Differential Fertility in Brazil, by John V. D. Saunders (Gainesville: University of Florida Press, 1958); and El Hombre y la Tierra en Boyacá: Bases Socio-Históricas para una Reforma Agraria, by Orlando Fals Borda (Bogotá: Editorial Antares, 1957).

The importance of the University of Florida as a center for Latin American studies has been enhanced by the ex-



tent to which its faculty members have become involved in technical assistance programs throughout Latin America. Much of this has been done officially through the College of Agriculture, but in many ways individual members of the faculty have played important roles in such programs. These professional activities of Florida faculty members go back many years. Peter Henry Rolfs, who was Director of the Florida Agricultural Experiment Station, established (in 1921) and directed the Escola Superior de Agricultura in Viçosa, Minas Gerais, Brazil.

In the years since 1921 probably at least two hundred members of the faculty and staff of the University have participated in missions of one type or another that have involved them directly with the agricultural, engineering, economic, educational, and social problems of Latin America. This number includes the president of the university (and his predecessor as well), the dean of the university, the dean of the graduate school, and the provost for agriculture, as well as faculty members of all ranks from instructor to professor. On the faculty right now are about ninety men and women who are personally and professionally involved with Latin America, most of whom have participated in one or more technical assistance programs. Within recent years, for example, a total of seventeen members of the staff of the Agricultural Experiment Station have undertaken tours of duty under contract in Costa Rica for periods varying from one month to almost four years, while at the same time seven Costa Ricans were on special professional assignments in the technical aspects of agriculture in Florida, exchanging ideas and experiences with still other members of the faculty.

Currently active is a program of cooperation between the College of Agriculture and the agricultural faculties at Maracaibo and Maracay, Venezuela, which likewise is giving additional members of the faculty firsthand knowledge of the various agricultural developments and problems of that important part of South America. The writer, although not a member of the faculty of the College of Agriculture, recently participated in this program by offering, at the Agriculture College of the University of Zulia in Maracaibo, an intensive short course in rural sociology that was attended by approximately one hundred and fifty persons.

Finally, the facilities of the University are used for various types of intensive training of Latin Americans who are brought to the United States, as in the case of the Costa Rican technicians. This includes not only consultations with and demonstrations for numerous visitors who spend a few days on the campus as part of a general tour, but also intensive training courses organized for groups of specialists who spend six or eight weeks at the University. For example, in both 1959 and 1960 groups of about thirty Bolivian economists were given intensive work in economics and closely related subjects at Gainesville. The volume and the quality of the professional contacts between members of the faculty of the University and scholars and scientists in Latin America add to the University's status as a major center of Latin American studies. 80

Century Tower on Plaza de las Américas is landmark on University of Florida campus



My Friend and Enemy José Santos Chocano

LUIS ALBERTO SÁNCHEZ

ALADINO, O VIDA Y OBRA DE JOSÉ SANTOS CHOCANO, by Luis Alberto Sánchez. Mexico City, Libro Mex Editores, 1960. 551 p.

Was only a boy when I first heard of José Santos Chocano. He was, in fact, "the poet of Peru" as well as "the poet of America." At least, that is how he was referred to in literary articles published both in Peru and abroad. Although Rubén Darío's fame was then very great, there had developed a sort of common understanding that he should be considered as the "standard-bearer of Modernism," and Chocano that of Americanism. Chocano had as many imitators as Darío, and there are still many today. His influence reached so far that we can find it in some of the sonnets of Tierra de Promisión (Land of Promise), by the great Colombian writer José Eustasio Rivera, and in the early works of Peru's greatest poet of recent years, César Vallejo ("Tríptico Imperial," for example).

In our house the memory of Chocano was particularly strong because my father had been a schoolmate of his in the school run by "Chino" Labarthe, where the fine shortstory writer Clemente Palma (1872–1946), the *criollista* poet Luis Aurelio Loyaza, and, I believe, Aurelio Arnao, a storyteller who showed great versatility, also studied. My father was an amateur poet, and he wrote a three-act

comedy in verse entitled El 15,700, which Chocano looked over. To my father, the poet was simply "Pepe." It was with "Pepe's" verses that I learned to recite poetry—a good introduction to oratory, to be sure.

Therefore, when Chocano returned to Peru on December 10, 1921, after his dramatic episode in Guatemala, I was one of the most enthusiastic of his welcomers. I remember that in Callao writers of various generations went to greet him aboard the ship that brought him from Panama. There were Clemente Palma, José Gálvez (1885–1956), Raúl Porras Barrenechea (1897–1960), Percy Gibson (1890–1960), and Pablo Abril de Vivero (1894–), and in Lima José María Eguren (1874–1942), César Vallejo (1893–1938), and others joined us.

My first impression of Chocano on the ship was somewhat disconcerting. I had expected him to be sonorous and even emphatic, but not so haughty. He practically congratulated us for having paid our respects to him, on the theory that the peoples that honor their poets are



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peoples that deserve immortality. The theory has its merits, but that was perhaps not the opportune moment for it. Chocano had been a faithful friend of the Guatemalan dictator Estrada Cabrera, the "El Señor Presidente" of Miguel Angel Asturias' novel. The dictator's enemies accused Chocano of having advised him, in the last days of his resistance, to bombard the capital to annihilate the opposition, a charge that has been proved false. But, on these grounds, Chocano was confined to an old prison, and they announced that he would be executed. Only the prompt intervention of the Pope, the presidents of Argentina, Peru, Panama, and Colombia, the King of Spain, and a multitude of writers from all over the world halted the proceedings and made it possible for the poet to be deported to Nicaragua, not without suffering damage to his health and loss of property, particularly his manuscripts, which were completely destroyed.

There was, therefore, a romantic halo of persecution around Chocano's head. With his Jovian pronouncements, he took charge of changing it into a gladiator's crown and of stirring up polemics, which he took delight in provoking, carrying on, and, if fortune favored, winning.

Chocano was the first person in Lima to practice the difficult art of living off his poems-by reciting them. But then, with his irrepressible proclivity for debate, he burst out with opinions on political regimes, exalting "force" above "farce" in a frivolous play on words, clamoring for organization, which he considered an urgent and overbearing need. "Organize yourselves or die" was the slogan of this new volunteer prophet, replacing D'Annunzio's motto "revive or die [rinovarsi o morire]." To achieve organization, a strong government was necessary. The idea of "dictatorships to organize things," which Chocano had propounded as early as 1912, in a letter published in the first issue of La Crónica of Lima, stirred up a fiery polemic in 1922, in which most of the writers opposed Chocano, accusing him of trying to put a good front on President Leguía's efforts to change the Peruvian constitution so that he could be re-elected. The universally applauded poet became a subject of political debate. I began to disassociate myself from his circle. I was basically loyal to him personally until October 1925, when, on the crest of a wave of political and personal paroxysm, he ended an argument with the young writer Edwin Elmore Letts with a fatal shot. The body of Edwin remained forever a barrier between us as individuals. However, I could not reject the poet along with the man. Today I am happy to find that I did well in keeping those planes of existence separate.

I had written about Chocano's work since I began to write at fourteen or fifteen. There is a profile of him signed with my initials in a 1915 number of the Boletin Escolar of the Sagrados Corazones School of Lima, and an article full of praise in a 1917 copy of the Lima magazine Ariel, of which I was co-editor during my first year in the School of Letters in the University of San Marcos. Until 1922 my literary enthusiasm for Chocano was unwavering. From then on it began to decline. Twenty years

later I began to weigh what had been underestimations or exaggerations in my opinions about him. I believe I have now struck a balance.

Chocano was imprisoned because of the murder of Elmore. From his cell he entertained himself by staining the reputation of his victim and those of all of us who intervened in the dispute, asking respect for José Vasconcelos, the Mexican educator whose article had given rise to the fatal Chocano-Elmore polemic. I did not pardon Chocano for this, which I considered and still consider unnecessary baseness. So, when in 1927 I ran into him in the street when he had just been released, he sought my greeting and I withheld it. My father reproached me for this extreme conduct with a lesson: "One does not mock the fallen." Later, when Chocano, forced out by the hostility of Lima, exiled himself in Chile, and I went there early in 1930, I refused to accept his suggestion that we meet and converse. This was my second piece of meanness. As if as a punishment for my ineptitude, the very day I reached Chile the next time, then as a political exile, on December 13, 1934, Rafael Maluenda, the present editor of El Mercurio of Santiago, met me at the Mapocho Station with this news: "Cholo, they have just assassinated Chocano. He will be buried tomorrow. If you like, we can go together." I was still full of stupid rancor toward the killer of my friend and the panegyrist of strong governments (although never of the mendacious oligarchies and closed circles that have held America back so seriously). I told Maluenda: "Not now, I'm going to get my family settled. I'll call you tomorrow."

Since 1927 I have been Professor of American and Peruvian Literature at the University of San Marcos. I have published a literary history, La Literatura Peruana (Buenos Aires, 1951), in six volumes, in which (in Volume VI) I devoted a long section to Chocano. The necessary restudy of him that began at the end of 1946 made the injustices I had done him apparent to me. Then in 1951 the Aguilar publishing house in Madrid



José Santos Chocano

accepted my proposal for gathering the complete works of Chocano, and I undertook the task for the not very succulent stipend of five hundred dollars. Then a new difficulty, very appropriate to such a daring life as the poet's, cropped up. The Spanish censorship refused to pass the collection of Chocano's poems and prose, and Aguilar had to publish it in Mexico, where it appeared in 1955. In 1958 the University of San Marcos published an anthology of his work that I edited. And meanwhile I went on writing my study of his life and work. A few separate chapters, published in the Revista de Literatura Iberoamericana of the United States, Cuadernos Americanos of Mexico, and Letras of Peru, aroused interest or met with a lack of it. The last was in Cuadernos Americanos, which delayed publication of one of the best chapters for ten months, and La Torre of Puerto Rico never printed the chapter it had accepted. Finally the book was finished, Libro-Mex accepted it, and, belatedly, the Chilean firm Zig-Zag asked me for it.

The considerable number of errata indicated in the printed copies is due in large part to the fact that I did not read the proofs until the final stage, and to the typographical fatality that accompanies Latin American

books, with few exceptions.

The book presented various problems: some of them material, regarding documentation; others literary, as, how to organize the work; and others having to do with sentiment and feeling, for achieving over-all balance. I have tried to overcome them and I have been conscious of the difficulty, which obliged me to adopt a style restrained by reflection. Andrés Henestrosa, in a review published in El Nacional of Mexico City, calls it a "clean and concrete style." A precise judgment, in my opinion, although my opinion may not be the best in this case, if in anything.

I had to go to considerable trouble to finish the documentary work, particularly since until August 1956 I was a political exile, and in Peru it is unfortunately the custom to deny exiles water, salt, and passports. I had to rely on effective help from within the country, for which I have expressed my appreciation in the preface of Aladino. I experienced a similar difficulty in connection with the Dominican Republic, which I was not permitted to enter, and with Spain, whose National Bank denied me access to its archives, which contain basic documents for the study of Chocano's life, as I noted in my book. The search through newspapers from Cuba, Guatemala, Honduras, and Venezuela was made possible only by unexpected cooperation, which I have also acknowledged. Of his fifty-nine years of life, Chocano spent only thirty in Peru, three in Spain, two or more in Mexico, one in Cuba, almost a year in Puerto Rico, six months in New York, six years in Chile, some seven in Guatemala, and so on. Since he collaborated in newspapers and magazines of the whole Spanish-speaking world, his tracks are many and found in unexpected places. He lived in perpetual change, and as a result his verses are most varied. His legal situation also suffered severe mutations. In regard to his marital status for example, doubts arise, and I have given documentary evidence bearing on them. His

relations with Darío, Lugones, Jaymes Freyre, and Villaespesa were most arbitrary. However, this was not the essential thing. To me, the essential element lay and lies in the poetic and American significance of the poet and his work. The term "Novomundial" or "Mundonovista" poetry, which bewildered the U.S. critic William Knapp Jones, has its own intransferable meaning. I had to make an effort to track it down.

What is the difference between Modernism and Mundonovismo? Well, the latter consists in the systematic and sincere exaltation of the beauties and achievements of the New World: an "Americanism" that is more than skin deep. Ever since I discovered that in 1896 Chocano had advanced a historico-geographic concept of poetry, in opposition to Rubén Dario's purely aesthetic concept, and that when he acknowledged receipt of the Nicaraguan master's Los Raros he mentioned his disapproval of the excessive Gallicization in it and his belief that the native aspects should be emphasized, and later when I found out, in a letter from my hero to Unamuno, that he neither knew French nor wanted to, a voracious appetite for this poet grew in me, re-enforcing my already strong curiosity about him as an individual. That is how the gestation of the book began.

There was something more. If there is one thing that upsets me, it is that fickleness that lets South Americans raise up gods overnight and then try to destroy them the next day. This changeability disturbs me, and I believe it is one of our signs of inferiority, because instability is one. Chocano was deified until 1922, and then as soon as he expressed certain political ideas more crudely than he had done before, he was attacked not only for his ideology, if you can call it that, but also as a poet. People did not stop to think that the cloak of political amorality covered almost all the Latin American Modernists, including Darío, Lugones, Díaz Mirón, Díaz Rodríguez, Coll, Herrera Reissig, and Chocano. These men of a belated renaissance staked everything on individuality and personalism.

The desire to offset that fickleness, to penetrate the psychological secret of our rhyming condottiere, pushed me along, and I have spent a good ten years in the effort, tracking down, comparing, weeding out, accumulating—in short, re-creating.

Moreover, it is a fact that the fame of Chocano filled the skies of America for more than a quarter century. With variations of tone, he was praised by critics and writers of the stature of Miguel de Unamuno, Marcelino Menéndez Pidal, Julio Cejador, Salvador Rueda, Antonio Palomero, Enrique Diez Canedo, and Rafael Cansinos Assens, all of Spain; and Ventura García Calderón, Manuel González Prada, Pedro Henríquez Ureña, Ricardo Rojas, Augusto d'Halmar, Emilio Rodríguez Mendoza, Roberto Meza Fuentes, José Gálvez, Andrés Mata, Andrés Eloy Blanco, Antonio Gómez, Aurelio Martínez Mutis, Juan Parra del Riego, José María Eguren, Ricardo Miró, Máximo Soto Hall, and Amado Nervo, among the Latin Americans. Fame such as this does not evaporate because of the blasts of an iconoclastic group, even when they are persistent. I wanted to see the how and the why of this

Hemisphere-wide admiration, and of its reversal. This necessarily led me into a comparative study. I hope it has turned out successfully.

REMEMBER one time in Buenos Aires Ricardo Rojas said to me: "In our day I have known only two examples of the Spanish Conquistador with all his vices and virtues: Vicente Blasco Ibáñez and José Santos Chocano." After my study, I am sure he was right.

As a result, confronted by such a many-sided figure, I had to adopt a different technique than I had used in other monographs: to mine the quarry to the very

bottom.

Without implying any sort of odious comparison, I recall that, despite his fame as a writer of novelized biography, achieved with Disraeli and Ariel, or The Life of Shelley, André Maurois changed his technique when he had to deal with Lord Byron, Victor Hugo, George Sand, and Alexandre Dumas. There are people with whom it is permissible—and even to be recommendedto deal with the freest imagination. There are others with whom faithful proof of every assertion is required, because of the controversial nature of their deeds. When I wrote my Don Manuel and La Perricholi, I felt it was enough to tell the stories. When I wrote my book on Haya de la Torre, and now this one on Chocano, as also when I did El Señor Segura, Hombre de Teatro, I believed in the indispensability of a systematic assembling of evidence. In the first books I could let the story run on without nailing down the details, in the later ones I have left what we might call the scaffolding in plain sight. trying to fit it into the architectural form. I don't know which method is better. I think that each has its place.

I had to show that Chocano was not so careless as was thought, nor so honest as people say. That if he praised some dictator, he never was subservient to any oligarchy. That if he killed, he was also in danger of being killed. That he loved money, but without hoarding it, as he loved life only to squander it. That he was conceited and that he was fascinated by mathematics. That he dreamed of being a captain of finance as well as the possessor of political power, an irresistible lover of women, and the poet of America. That if there were various notorious women in his life, on the whole he was monogamous in erotic matters, although he may have maintained a nominal harem legally or semi-legally. That he was a very good son, and that his own sons in turn declared that he was an affectionate and understanding father. That he was both very noble and vile, in different circumstances. That he modified Spanish meter, but not its tone. That he was a Modernist without knowing French and a Novomundista within the Old World tradition of Spain. That he shared both the tacit melancholy of the Indian and the vociferous pride of the Conquistador. That he was excessively demonstrative, but nevertheless incomparably metaphorical, when his poetic images did not knock the props out from under preceptive or rhetorical comparison.

Therefore, I plunged into a labyrinth from which I have extracted some surprising bits of information.

Some passages in the life and work of Chocano were genuine enigmas to me; for example, how he entered the service of José Santos Zelaya of Nicaragua; why he quit the diplomatic service in Colombia; what was the true story of his mysterious dealings with the Bank of Spain; the truth of his dispute with Vasconcelos; the history of his marriages; the secret of his assassination. I have done my best to clear up all these questions, which are important to the literary and psychological history of America.

Someone has said that apparently I began to write this book with great enthusiasm for Chocano, and that I finished it putting the brakes on my original fervor. I think that judgment is mistaken. From the beginning I knew that the orbit of Chocano's life and writings was and is passionately polemic. But, when you paint an individual's beginnings, you cannot overburden either your mind or the story with the residue that only becomes visible at the end. Such a procedure would reveal an unpardonable

lack of skill and execrable prejudice.

After re-examining the whole book, and the complete works of Chocano, I consider that he was a careful, exacting poet until 1908. That part of his work culminated in Alma América and Fiat Lux, which is a real anthology. Later he let himself be carried away by improvisation, probably inspired by pride and vehemence. If someone's careful hands had gathered all his work that remained unpublished at the time of his death, it would have saved me a great deal of trouble. But if a strict anthology were compiled, not only of poems, but of separate lines that are worth saving, we would have a most beautiful harvest. Would someone like to undertake this or entrust the task to me? I would be delighted to do it.

In Peru, actually, we have had only a few voices that reached beyond the national boundaries: the Inca Garcilaso de la Vega, El Lunarejo, Caviedes (born in Spain), Della Rocca de Vergalo (who wrote in French), Ricardo Palma, Manuel González Prada, José Santos Chocano, José María Eguren, César Vallejo, Ciro Alegría (who fell silent as soon as he exhausted his memories), and. in a sense, Ventura García Calderón. The rest—to parody Rubén Darío's line—"the rest is yours, democrat Walt Whitman."

If we were to consider them on the basis of those whose influence has been felt throughout Latin America. I would reduce this list to six names, and Chocano's would still be there. Let the geese honk as they will; this is strictly correct.

Biographical incidents, which often seem undesirable, do not lessen the aesthetic validity, any more than they did in the cases of Cellini, Villon, Wilde, Verlaine, D'-Annunzio, Byron, or even Dante. Let us apply to a man born in 1875 and assassinated in 1934 the same measure we would use for men of the thirteenth, fourteenth, fifteenth, and nineteenth centuries. That's all. At least, that is the lesson I have learned from a long and careful journey along the craggy meanders of the life and the work of my fellow countryman, friend, and enemy José Santos Chocano, the Aladino (Aladdin) of my book.



TO THE SOWERS

This hymn to the first sowers of grains, by José Cecilio del Valle, appeared in the Correo Literario de Honduras.

Men are unjust, or ignorant, or ignorant and unjust simultaneously.

They have preserved the memory of those who conquered Guatemala, Mexico and the rest; they have written their history in various languages; they have repeated the names of Pedro de Alvarado, Hernán Cortés, and the others, but do not know the name of the man who brought the first corn to Guatemala; they are ignorant of who planted the first grain of wheat in Mexico.

Poetry has sung and prose has eulogized those who conquered, and not one art has praised the name of those who sowed.

First, he who shows the way; second, he who sows: third, he who builds; fourth, he who transports goods; fifth, he who defends his society; sixth, he who reconciles, and prevents disputes. If there were a scale among individuals of a similar society, that would be the scale that I would honor.

Receive them, beneficent men, they, whatsoever be their names, who planted the first cuttings and sowed the first grains. The quantity of water with which the rains make the land fruitful has been calculated. But the good that came from the planting of the first grains can never be reckoned.

María Escobar brought the first wheat to Peru. I offer my homage to this deserving Spaniard, mother of

those who bake bread there.

The monk, Father Jodoco Ricke de Marselaer, native of Ghent in Flanders, sowed the first wheat in Quito. I present my respects to this Flemish benefactor, father of the growers of that cereal in that province.

In Mexico, one of Cortés' slaves planted three or four grains of wheat that he found in the rice he served to the Spanish troops. I embrace this Negro, benefactor of the citizens, Indian and Spanish, who live in New Spain.

NEW LOOK AT THE LAND PROBLEM

Latin America's number one problem is reviewed by Harry Kantor in Combate, publication of the International Institute of Socio-Political Studies in Costa Rica.

In spite of all that is said and published about the economic and industrial development of Latin America, it can be stated that insufficient attention has been given to the importance of the system of land ownership, a system with a colonial structure that has survived until today. What is more, this system, strengthened and reinforced during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries by the increase in agricultural investments by international companies, such as United Fruit and W. R. Grace-which, by the way, are very compatible with the traditional Latin American system-exercises a decisive influence on the social and economic structure of all the countries.

reforms is greater each day as is shown by the fact that this reform is the subject of studies and discussions in the highest circles of many Latin American governments. Recently, at the Fifth Inter-American Agricultural Conference of the OAS and at the FAO's Seventh Regional Conference for Latin America, resolutions designed to encourage agrarian reform were adopted. The XXXV Resolution specifically recommended that any agrarian reform 'must seek the incorporation of the rural population in the economic and social life of the nation, in this way giving agriculture the importance and priority it should have as an active sector of the production." This is a good step forward, but the situation demands more drastic action. The governments recognize this. At the recent Conference of Bogotá, the governments agreed that "the success of a cooperative program for economic and social progress requires maximum effort on the part of the American republics themselves toward helping themselves and, in most cases, . . . this program also requires the improvement of [social] institutions." In the list of institutions that needed improvement, the Act of Bogotá emphasized "especially the ownership and use of land."

The importance of the system of land ownership as a decisive element in the political and social system of Latin America should receive even more consideration. During the last four hundred years, Latin America has maintained a system of land ownership characterized by two types of holdings-latifundia and minifun-The urgency for effecting agrarian dia, large estates and small holdings-

both inefficient, each reinforcing the other and determining a social order in which the majority of the population is poor, illiterate, and in poor health. Countries with this type of population are of necessity victims of a constant struggle for power. This struggle is conducive at times to anarchy and at other times to dictatorship, giving democracy little opportunity to develop.

The minifundium system establishes holdings so small that they are not adequate to provide their owners a decent living. The latifundia, on the other hand, include estates so great that it is impossible to cultivate the entire area efficiently. Even more important, the latifundia create a special type of landowner. The aggregate of these owners constitutes a powerful, almost immovable force, which impedes any substantial social progress as much as it impedes economic progress in the Latin American countries.

It can be said with justification that the latifundium has been the greatest calamity of Latin America ever since it was established in this area, in that it has held back and obstructed the various republics in their establishment of an intelligent economic organization...

Elimination of the latifundium in Latin America is the most urgent objective for the successful development of this geographic area. Discussion of this objective is frequently found on the agenda of the democratic governments of Latin America and it is constantly alluded to by the most important political thinkers of each of the twenty republics. As long as the system of land ownership is not reorganized, education will be deficient, democracy will be in danger, and industrialization cannot be brought about. But once that has been effected, the Latin Americans will vigorously rebuild their land in a renewed effort that will demonstrate what this geographic area might have been, had the anachronistic systems of social organization been destroyed earlier. It might

appear, according to some statistics, that the United States also has a similar latifundium problem; but actually this is not so. The United States is an industrial country in which 86.76 per cent of the inhabitants earn their living in non-agricultural occupations. The minority that is devoted to agricultural activities comprises 13.24 per cent of the population and can be subdivided into two sectors; those who work on "family farms"-small farms cultivated by the entire familyand those that develop vast "factories in the fields." These enormous holdings at times encompass hundreds and thousands of acres cultivated by a great number of workers, aided by machinery. The United States has seve.al million day laborers of limited resources and the living conditions of the migratory agricultural workers. who work only seasonally, are pitiful. Nonetheless, agricultural activity does not determine the U.S. way of life, because agriculture exercises a very limited influence on the national life.



FIGURES, PLEASE

As a long time subscriber and a very interested and curious one I often wonder how you derive your exchange figures. As a long time accounting person figures always enthrall me

On page 16 of the February issue of AMÉRICAS ["Samba Schools in Rio"] you give about \$715 as the exchange for 100,000 cruzeiros. I checked your equivalents for 100,000, 60,000, and 40,000 cruzeiros, trying to discover the exact exchange for one U. S. dollar, and each gave me a different answer. Then I jumped back to page 11 of the same issue ["Down the Changing Amazon"] and here I see 800,000 cruzeiros equals \$4,000.

As a pecan grower (currently) I tried to figure the average productivity of one castanheira [referred to in the Amazon article] in terms of dollars. If the average tree produces 5.6 bushels (two hectoliters), what is the

The article also says that the river boat's boiler devours ten thousand achas per day.

How many cords is this? One cord equals 128 cubic feet.

Some day I plan to ride down the "Changing Amazon." Any enlightenment will be appreciatively received.

Therese T. Tarvin Okemah, Oklahoma

The cruzeiro exchange rate has fluctuated widely and varied from month to month in recent years. Since the parade and prizes discussed in the "Samba Schools in Rio" article were in February, 1959, the exchange rate prevailing at the time (140 cruzeiros per dollar) was used for conversion and the dollar equivalents were rounded off as indicated. The cruzeiro amounts mentioned in "Down the Changing Amazon" date from the author's trip made in late 1960, so dollar equivalents were based on 200 cruzeiros per dollar, the average rate during that period.

Applying this conversion figure to the value of the castanheira, we see that the average annual yield per tree was worth twenty dollars at that time.

The achas burned by the river steamers are logs or sticks of varying size, and we are unable to calculate how many cords ten thousand achas would make.

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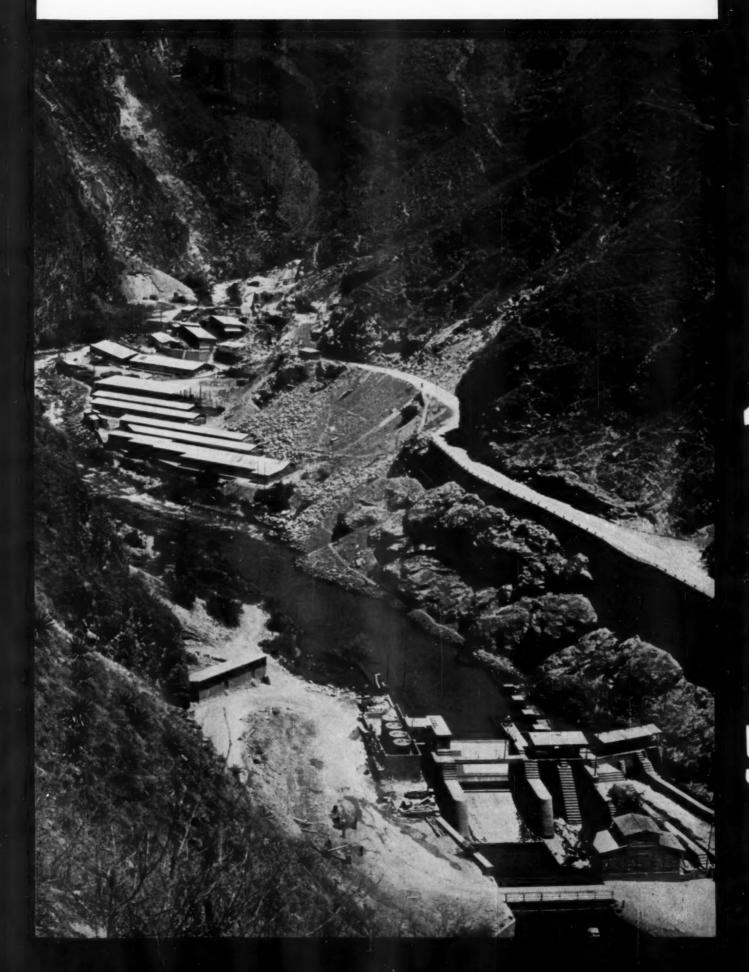
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The OAS had its inception in 1890 during the First International Conference of American States, which met in Washington. Today, it operates through a large number of different agencies and institutions throughout the Hemisphere, all contributing to the common objective of preserving the peace and security of the member states and promoting by concernity action, their economic, social and

and security of the member states and promoting, by cooperative action, their economic, social, and

and security of the memory scatters are promoted by the cultural development. The Pan American Union, central permanent organ and General Secretariat of the OAS, has its headquarters in Washington, D.C. Called "The House of the Americas," its main building of white marble, with its tropical patio and Astee Garden, is visited each year by thousands of Americans from all parts of the Western Hemisphere.

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